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ABSTRACT

Women have always been underrepresented in educational administration, and their numbers in administrative roles have declined in recent years. This monograph examines some of the factors determining this underrepresentation. In addition to sources on the national status of women in education, literature on careers in education administration, and data on Oregon public schools, this study utilizes material gathered in interviews with Oregon public school administrators. The study emphasizes the interaction between individual socialization patterns and the norms and standards of the larger society which reinforce differentiated sex roles. The discriminatory attitudes held by individuals (both male and female) are frequently reinforced by professional and societal structures, thus resulting in perpetuation of the status quo in educational administration. Both women and men have been socialized to carry out roles that maintain the secondary status of women. (Author/DS)

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SEX DIFFERENTIATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Wanted: More Women

EA 008 535

NCAWE

Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration

by Patricia Ann Schmuck

National Council of Administrative Women In Education

1815 Fort Myer Drive North Arlington, Virginia 220209

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Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The education profession has traditionally been called a "women's profession and indeed the majority of personnel at the first rung on the education ladder -- classroom teachers -- are women. Recent analyses however, have documented the fact that education is not a woman's profession in any but a relative sense; roles are assigned to ensure male leadership and control and reinforce the secondary status of females. Women have always been underrepresented in educational administration and their numbers in administrative roles have declined in recent years.

The questions which must be answered are how and why these patterns of sex differentiated roles exist and how can they be modified to ensure the best use of human resources. The following study provides us with a comprehensive discussion of some answers to these questions. This analytical work focuses on the present status of women in educational administration in the state of Oregon and compares it to research which suggests a similar national pattern.

A primary strength of the study is its recognition of the interaction between individual socialization patterns and the norms and standards of the larger society which reinforce differentiated sex roles. It is apparent that any change in the existing pattern in educational administration will require efforts to deal with both the individual variables and the societal variables.

The complimentarity of traditional sex roles is examined as a means

of understanding the ways that women and men contribute to the underutilization of female potential. Both women and men have been socialized to carry out roles that maintain the secondary status of women. Women's low self-esteem, their relative lack of initiative in applying for jobs, their lack of advanced training, and their lack of perseverance are explained both in the context of individual socialization experiences and the context of the economic and social realities of our society. Males contribute to maintaining this secondary status by their stereotyped notions of women's capabilities, their traditional attitudes, their overt discriminatory actions, and general resistance to change. The attitudes of individual males and females are frequently reinforced by professional and societal structures; thus, resulting in perpetuation of the status quo.

The implications of this study for anyone interested in change are numerous. It points up the need for a reexamination of the ways that we prepare girls and boys to develop and use their own potentials and to appreciate and support the same development in others. Adult women and men need opportunities for critical evaluation of the sex-role attitudes, beliefs and values that limit their personal lives and lives of others. Schools of educational administration must seek to specify the skills of administration and develop programs that prepare highly skilled men and women for the complex tasks that face school administrators. School districts must begin to evaluate the relevant knowledge and skills need by effective administrators and ensure that all recruitment, hiring and promotion policies result in the selection of the most truly competent

persons. All of us must monitor and ensure enforcement of antidiscrimination laws aimed at ending sex discrimination in education.

The importance of these tasks becomes apparent when we consider education's role in preparing both children and adults for living in our ever changing society. Only when the education profession demonstrates a leadership role in providing equality is there any likelihood that it can become a reality for our society.

Shirley McCune
Resource Center on Sex Roles
in Education

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Chapter One

THE VANISHING WOMAN IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Women have predominated as school teachers in our country since the Civil War. Yet men have always dominated the administration of our schools. Whereas women have been represented in all school administrative positions in the past, current data indicate that women's representation is decreasing in administrative positions, especially those having the authority to give directives or to hire or fire subordinates. The fact is that women have never held significant power in a field they dominate. The purpose of this monograph is to explain why.

Reports of the decreasing numbers of women in school administration began to reach mass audiences by the early part of this decade. Not only were school people becoming aware of the vanishing woman in administration but so did the public at large. Myra Sadker's warning at the meeting of National Association of Elementary School Principals in 1973 that women were becoming extinct in school administration was picked up and echoed in both the educational literature and the national public press (McClure and McClure, 1974; Johnson, 1972; Barnes, 1973; Hare, 1966), and Mary Hall's warning in Oregon had a similar effect (Hall, 1974; Rothbart, 1974; OSSC, 1974). By 1974 interest in changing women's status in educational administration had become a legitimate concern of professional

educators, legislators and many citizens.

While this surge of interest obviously has been prompted by widespread concerns about women's place in American society, the fact that women school administrators, like the aardvark, were becoming a vanishing species startled many people, including me. As an aspiring school administrator and as a woman I became concerned and began a study to explain the phenomenon. I soon found that the search for the expiring aardvark resulted instead in a discovery of the mythical unicorn.

The myth that women were losing significant power in school administration gave way before the fact that women have never held influential positions in our public schools. While women's representation as superintendents, high school principals, and elementary school principals has indeed decreased throughout the nation over the last ten years, the fact is that women have always been under-represented in the management positions in a field they have dominated at the classroom level since universal compulsory education. In the state of Oregon, the miniscule percentage of 2.8 percent female superintendents in 1966 reached a low of 0.8 percent in 1974, and the 4.5 percent of female high school principals decreased to 1.2 percent in 1974. There certainly has been a decline; but the concern about the decline of the species of women administrators masks the more important fact that women have never even approached parity with men in holding positions of formal managerial power in school districts (see Table 1).

Two basic reasons are often presented to explain the decline of the number of women administrators. From my investigations they seem to hold

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION, OREGON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966, 1971, 1973

Positions	1973-1974		1971-1972		1966-1967	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Superintendents	99.2 (244)	.8 (2)	98.8 (241)	1.2 (3)	97.2 (241)	2.8 (7)
Principals	93.9 (875)	6.1 (57)	94.1 (851)	5.9 (59)	90.6 (811)	9.3 (84)
Asst. Principals	91.0 (241)	9.0 (24)	94.2 (209)	5.8 (13)	89.3 (195)	10.6 (23)
Head Teachers	72.8 (16)	27.2 (6)	87.5 (14)	12.5 (2)	81.8 (126)	18.1 (28)

reasonable merit; there are now more men in teaching positions than ever before and there are now fewer administrative jobs than there were only 20 years ago.

There is a definite trend toward sex equalization in public school teaching. In Oregon, while men comprised 41 percent of the certified personnel in 1966, they comprised 46 percent in 1974 and the greatest increase has come in elementary school teaching. The 25 percent male representation in elementary teaching in 1966 reached 32 percent in 1974. As more men entered teaching in the elementary school, more men also became elementary school principals. The most significant decline of women administrators has been at the elementary school level; the 1966 percentage of 11.9 percent female elementary school principals was cut

almost in half to 6.0 percent in 1974. The elementary school principalship has been the primary administrative position that women have held throughout the history of public education, and only infrequently have elementary school principals reached the upper echelons of school district administration. Typically elementary school principals retire as elementary school principals; it is primarily the secondary principals who gain higher positions (Dils, 1954).

Now there are fewer administrative jobs available in school districts than there were only a decade ago. The consolidation of school districts has resulted in the elimination of many managerial positions. Small districts with superintendents and several teaching principals have been restructured into one large district with one superintendent and fewer supervisory principals. The National Education Association reported that the nearly forty thousand school districts were reduced by almost half in a ten-year period. In 1962, 32,820 districts were reduced to 17,036 by 1972, a reduction of 48 percent. The rapid reduction in the absolute numbers of school administrators has followed suit.

A cursory review of these two shifts has led many observers to conclude that these two historical occurrences represent the basic reasons why there are fewer women occupying management positions in the schools. But my own analysis has led me to believe that while these historical shifts may have resulted in the decline of women in school management positions, putting emphasis on these historical facts detracts from the more fundamental issue--<u>why have women always been underrepresented in the management of a field they dominate</u>?

Since the Civil War school teaching has always been performed more by women than by men, yet the management of our public schools has always been dominated by men. There is, and always has been, a widely accepted norm that administration is a man's job. This norm obviously is highlighted today because there are more men in the profession and fewer administrative jobs.

The Current Status of Women in School Administration

In a 1974 survey of women's involvement in school governance, Fischel and Pottker give a detailed picture of the status of women in school management at national, state and local levels.

At the national level Fischel and Pottker studied two major policy-making and research-granting institutions; the Office of Education and the National Institute of Education. In these two organizations women constitute a majority of all the civil service employees; however, while they represent a majority at all the lower civil service grade levels up to GS-13, they constitute a distinct minority at the higher civil service levels from GS-13 to GS-18. When the civil service grade level positions are averaged for men and women, the women occupy positions having a mean rating of GS-7.5, while the men occupy those positions having a mean rating of GS-12.

In their survey of state level positions Fischel and Pottker found that only 95 women in contrast to 390 men are members of state boards. Thus women hold only 20 percent of the positions on state boards of education. Of the 326 deputy associates and assistant superintendents, only

2 percent are women; as to directorships, 9 percent are women. In all, Fischel and Pottker found that women occupy only 18 percent of the positions in state departments of education.

Fischel and Pottker's findings are even more striking for local school districts. Whereas 66 percent of the teachers in the United States are women, 87 percent of the principals are men and 88 percent of the assistant principals are men. Of the women principals, 96 percent are in the elementary schools, 3 percent are in junior high schools or middle schools and 1 percent are in senior high schools. Numerically, there are 13,037 district superintendents in the United States; 65 are women, a mere 0.1 percent representation. The only administrative jobs where women are visible in local school districts are in staff positions within the central office. Women constitute 35 percent of all the support staff in central offices in local school districts.

The Status of Women in Oregon Public Schools

The status of women in Oregon schools is consistent with this national portrait presented by Fischel and Pottker. At the state level in 1973-1974, the Oregon State Board of Education consists of six men and one woman. In the State Department of Education the executive office is comprised of five men and one woman while the entire staff of 152 persons includes only 32 (or 21%) women.*

*These figures were compiled from the 1973-1974 Oregon School Directory.

The nation-wide portrait of women's status in local school governance is consistent with women's status in Oregon which is the major focus of this dissertation. Women's status in school management within Oregon is summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN OREGON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1973-1974

Positions	Women		Men		Total
Total Certified Personnel	54.5	(15,280)	45.5	(12,751)	28,031
Superintendents	.8	(2)	99.2	(241)	243
Assistant Superintendents	2.8	(2)	97.2	(67)	69
Principals	6.1	(57)	93.9	(875)	932
Assistant Principals	9.0	(24)	91.0	(241)	265
Head Teachers	27.3	(6)	72.7	(16)	22
Director/Supervisors/ Coordinators	25.4	(154)	74.6	(468)	622

As indicated by Table 2, women's representation in administration is highest in the categories of head teacher and director/supervisor/ coordinator. Head teachers in Oregon are not formally classified as administrative personnel; they typically have a minor part-time administrative responsibility in conjunction with their classroom teaching responsibilities. Directors/supervisors/coordinators are sometimes

within the central office. Women's representation in this category is consistent with Fischel and Pottker's national findings that this is the only category where women are visible in local school governance.

Education is Moving Toward an Equal Distribution of Sexes

The under representation of women in school management is, of course, not a unique phenomenon; virtually all American professions are managed by men. What is unique about education is that women as teachers dominate the first step of the career ladder. In most other professions men predominate from the very first stages of preparation and practice. Indeed, the scenario of American schooling consistently portrays women as being effective managers of students, especially young ones, and men as being the more appropriate managers of teachers.

The forces that work to differentiate the sexes so that the minority group of males take, or are given, the reins of administrative leadership are of concern to many citizens, policy-makers, and practitioners. There is increasing interest in understanding how children are socialized into the male and female roles in our society and many educators are actively working to attract more male teachers to the lower grades to offset children's experience in an "all female world." Some researchers have demonstrated the explicit messages of sex-typed occupational roles conveyed in the textbooks our children use in school (Britton, 1973). In Oregon some local school districts are establishing procedures to review incoming textbooks for their sex or racial stereotypes. Furthermore, in some districts teachers are being provided with the skills and procedures to alert children to the explicit sex or racial stereotypes. The budgets of

many school districts are also under review to provide equal expenditures for male and female students; the athletics programs in most school districts provide a blatant example of unequal expenditures based on a student's sex.

These are some examples of attempts to equalize educational opportunities for our male and female children. Yet despite these concerns and active movements, the predominant sex imbalance that already exists in educational administration is becoming even more pronounced.

Research and Theory about Women's Status

The documentation of women's past and present status in school administration has provided only superficial explanations about women's minority position in relation to school governance. There is a paucity of research and theory about the differential effect of sex on the careers of women in the professions generally and particularly about women in school administration.

In the social sciences women have been the focus of many studies; these studies, however, have been concerned primarily with women's role in the family or as adult role models for young girls. The documentation and explanation of careers of professional women have been even more sparse until recently. One thorough analysis of professional women was done by Cynthia Fuchs Epstein in 1970. She documented, described and explained the status of professional women, primarily in law. In fact, her work guided and provided a model for me in the study of women in school administration.

In educational administration, systematic research about women is even more sparse. There are only four studies which investigate the question whether the sex of the status holder may be an important variable in leadership style.* The Florida Leadership Project (Grobman and Hines, 1956) rated principals' responses to simulated situations as being "democratic" or "authoritarian." They found direct relationships between democratic leadership and positive attitudes of parents, teachers and students toward school. Women, more often than men, were democratic leaders. Their comparisons were limited to the elementary school, however, because this was the only administrative position where there were enough females to constitute a sample.

Hemphill, Griffiths and Fredericksen (1962) rated principals' reactions to simulated materials and projective materials and categorized their responses on several dimensions such as "Exchanging Information" and "Maintaining Organizational Relationships." These categories were related to the abilities, interests and opinions of teachers and superiors. Again, women scored higher on these dimensions and there was a positive relationship with the dependent variables. And again, the findings were confined to elementary school principals.

In two separate investigations of the National Principals Study administrative performance was related to teacher and student performance measures. Gross and Trask (1964) in the most comprehensive study to date

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*Women have been the topic of some dissertations: Breck, 1961; Burns, 1964; Kaufmann, 1961; Silver, 1973; however, none of these has made its way into the published literature.

comparing the differences between men and women principals, found women elementary school principals scored higher on the indirect measures of administrative performance which were positively related to teacher professionalism and student performance. In a second investigation (Gross and Herriott, 1965) similar measures were used and a scale was developed called Executive Professional Leadership (EPL). Those individuals scoring high on EPL measures had schools with higher teacher professionalism, student performance and teacher morale. Interestingly enough, however, EPL scores and sex were not found to be related. Age and marital status were compounding variables in the relationship between sex and EPL scores.

From this evidence, despite the difficulties in comparing the different measures of principal effectiveness, despite the fact that all the studies used indirect measures of administrative performance and despite the lack of the relationship with sex and EPL scores, I concur with the conclusions of Meskin (1974):

> The studies we have reviewed present a strong case for the effectiveness of women educational administrators, as represented by women elementary school principals. When we highlight some of the specific findings concerning women administrators in these studies their propensity toward democratic leadership, thoroughness of approach to problem solving, and bent toward instructional leadership, as well as the general effectiveness of their performance as rated by both teachers and superiors, we puzzle over the small number of women administrators employed by school districts and especially over the decline of women in the elementary principalship. . . . Setting aside the important considerations of fairness in appointment procedures, the effective job performance of women administrators alone warrants a greater place for them in administrative heirarchy of school systems (p. 4).

The Relevance of This Study

At the present time there are no systematic studies that explore the differential career patterns of women today in administration and there are no studies that explain why women have always been under-represented in a field they dominate by their numbers. This study is an attempt to fill both voids. It is an important study when one considers that there has been an implicit policy governing the selection of administrators on the basis of sex throughout the history of public education. This implicit policy has resulted in the under-use of over 50 percent of the potential administrators of our schools. The human problems of our schools are too serious and too tenacious for us to ignore this possible pool of talent.

Furthermore, one of the apparent concerns of the 1960s and 1970s has been to provide rationality and intelligence to federal, state and local educational policy. There has been an active movement to create explicit educational policy. Yet the hiring of men and the formal or informal exclusion of women in administration continues to be an implicit policy on many educational levels. This policy needs to be investigated and questioned. Although this study is focused upon one state, Oregon, it is not unique. What is happening in Oregon is more or less representative of what is occurring in all of the states. I hope this in-depth analysis of one state can provide a set of tools for study and open up avenues for change applicable in Oregon and other state systems of education.

Methods of Study and Overview of the Monograph

To describe and explain this phenomenon of women's under-representation in school administration in the state of Oregon, I have relied on several sources of information: 1) published sources about the status of women in education nationally, 2) data from the Oregon State Department of Education spanning the last eight years in Oregon public schools, 3) the published literature about careers in educational administration, 4) literature pertaining to the status of women in our society, and 5) interviews with 10 men and 30 women in administrative positions in Oregon about women's status in public schools conducted in 1974.*

In Chapter II I shall discuss the careers of school administrators in general and point to the similarities and differences between men's and women's career paths in public education. In Chapter III I shall discuss the concept of sex differentiation within the labor force illustrating women's nonrandom distribution in the United States labor force and their nonrandom distribution within schools in Oregon. I shall indicate how ascribed sex roles have influenced women's status in the society in general and in public education in particular. In Chapter IV I shall explain how ascribed sex roles within American society influence women's personal and professional aspirations and achievements. And, finally, in Chapter V I shall show how our educational institutions support and perpetuate the allocation of administrative roles on the basis

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*I was supported by a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor administered by the Department of Industrial Relations at the University of Oregon.

of sex by giving examples of how the social norms in our schools operate to keep women out of positions of influence and power in school administration.

Chapter Two

THE CAREER PATH OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR

The prototypic career path of the school administrator proceeds very straightforwardly and is rather easy to trace. Most school districts are simple three- or four-level hierarchical organizations with only a few specialties and classifications. In fact, school districts, when compared with the many complex technical structures in industry and government have been depicted as one of the last of the dying "handwork" industries where only a few persons are at the helm of leadership. Given the degree of occupational specialization in schools today, it is a situation comparable to managing the contemporary American economy with only the occupational classifications that existed in sixteenth century Europe (Carlson, 1972). Typically the career path of school administrators involves a straight line move up the hierarchy from teacher to principal to superintendent.

Most small school districts have only these three occupational categories. Larger districts with more students and more schools typically have some variation on that basic theme; for instance, they include additional functionaries such as assistants, directors, supervisors, coordinators or specialists. In these larger districts movement up the hierarchy typically includes passage through one or more of these

positions en route to becoming a principal or superintendent.

Since American school districts essentially share the same managerial structures from region to region, mobile individuals can move vertically up the administrative hierarchy while moving horizontally from one district to another. Principalships are most often obtained within the same school district; superintendents more often are imported from outside the district. One national survey showed that about one-third of the superintendents had risen through the hierarchy of the very same school district whereas the remaining two-thirds had moved up from one step to another by moving across several districts (AASA, 1960).

The superintendency is the highest-ranking position in most school districts (some very large districts have area superintendents who report to the overall district superintendent, sometimes called chancellor). As a consequence, most of the research tracing career paths in educational administration has necessarily focused on this role with the principalship as an intermediary stepping stone. Since women have only infrequently occupied positions as superintendents, the research on career paths in educational administration has been entirely focused upon men. Although women have often filled the position of elementary school principal, there is not much research on the career paths of elementary school principals because this position has been traditionally the end of the career ladder. The elementary school principalship has not by and large been an avenue for upward mobility in school district administration (Dils, 1954).

Career research in educational administration has essentially ignored the role of women. Some researchers note the influence of one's sex upon the career paths of school administrators such as in the following quote by Carlson (1972):

> Because men are very much in the minority in public schools, because their ranks are rapidly depleted by those dropping out of the occupation, and because they are advanced to administrative posts far more frequently than women, the men who simply persist in the occupation have a high probability of moving up the ladder (p. 9).

Because women have always represented only a miniscule proportion of school managers their careers in educational administration have not been documented. Furthermore, no one has tried to explain why this is the case.

The absence of research on women's career paths in education is not a unique blind spot of educators. Occupational socialization research has also been plagued by the same blind spot. Sociologists, too, generally have focused upon men in career and occupational research, and women too often have been ignored (Huber, 1973). The assumption seems to have been that women's careers are either unusual or unsystematic. This blind spot to women in studies concerning occupational socialization in the society at large is even more blatant in these studies because, unlike educational administration, women constitute one-third of the United States labor force. Women are sufficiently represented in the labor market, yet many sociologists continue to focus upon men in studies of occupational socialization and mobility.

Although career research on school administrators has shed no light on the patterns of women's career development in the field, it has at

least identified some key variables for investigation. Four variables are appropriate in comparing men's and women's career development in educational administration: 1) the career patterns of administrators, 2) the effects of marriage and parenthood, 3) the levels and fields of graduate training and 4) career aspirations and geographical mobility. In the following sections I will show how women are similar to and different from men on these variables.

Career Line of Superintendents

Those who are designated as holding line positions in organizations have the authority to give task-oriented directives and have responsibility for the effective performance of subordinates. The core line positions in school districts are those of teachers, principals and superintendents. The latter two, of course, represent the line administrators of the school district and possess hiring and firing responsibilities that typically are not the prerogative of teachers. Additional administrative line positions also found in larger districts are area directors who report directly to the superintendent and assistants who report directly to the superintendent or a principal. Other administrative positions are typically designated as staff positions. Persons who hold staff positions provide supportive and coordinative services and typically report to a line administrator other than the superintendent.

The Route to the Superintendency

The superintendents of our school districts typically move up to that position after holding the principalship of a senior high school for

years. Of course, superintendents of very large districts typically also have been involved in other line positions before reaching the top. For example, they frequently started their careers in education as high school teachers, then took a position of increased responsibility such as a supervisor or department chairman in the high school, then moved to an assistant principalship of a high school, next to the principalship of a high school and finally on to the superintendency. Quite often, however, some horizontal or vertical movement across districts accompanies this upward career path. Figure 1 shows women's and men's representation in these categories for Oregon in 1973-1974, and indicates that women are decreasingly represented in the line positions that make up the typical path toward a school superintendency.

Line vs, Staff. When line positions are distinguished from staff positions in Oregon school districts, women are found to hold 6 percent of line positions and men hold the other 94 percent, as indicated in Table 3. And in line positions women predominate as elementary school principals, as indicated in Table 4.

Fischel and Pottker point out in their national survey that the only category where women are visible in local school governance is in the central office support staff. This is borne out in Oregon also. In Oregon schools women occupy 23 percent of district staff positions, whereas men occupy the remaining 77 percent, as indicated in Table 5.

Carlson notes in his study of school superintendents that while movement up the ladder of the line positions is the more typical path toward the superintendency, movement into staff positions does not

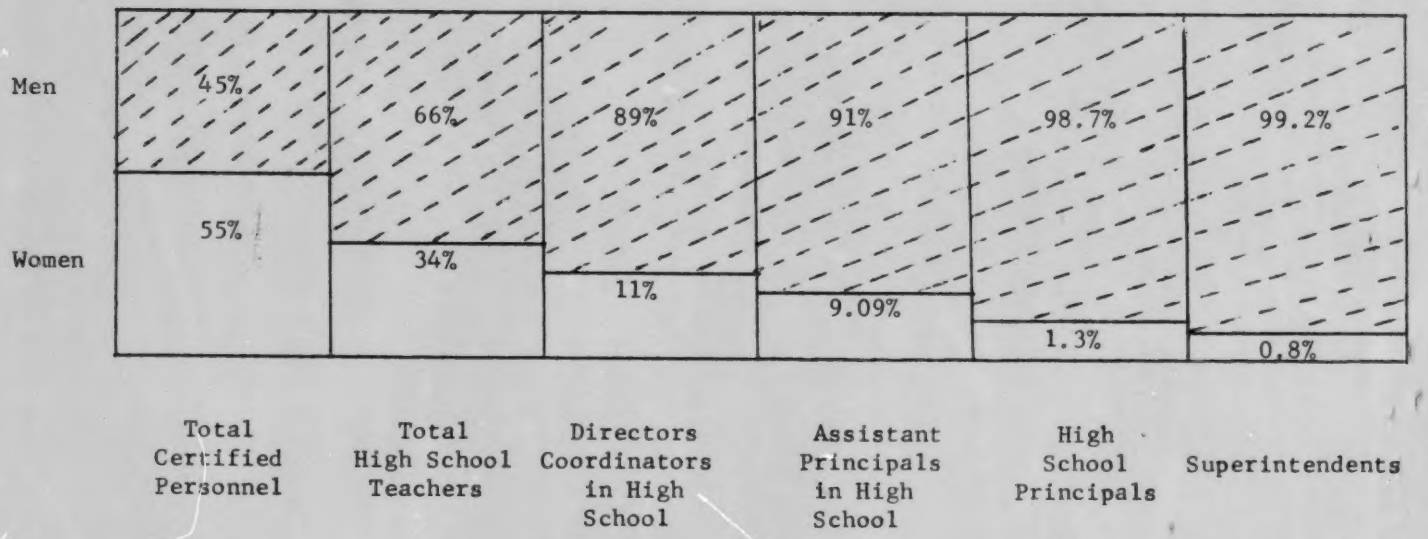

Fig. 1. Women and Men in Positions Leading to the Superintendency, Oregon Public Schools, 1973-1974

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF MEN AND WOMEN IN LINE ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS,
OREGON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1973-1974

Line Positions	Number of Men	Number of Women
Superintendent	244	2
Assistant Superintendent	67	2
Principal	875	57
Assistant Principal	241	24
Head Teacher	16	6
Total	1,443 = 94.1%	91 = 5.9%

TABLE 4

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN PRINCIPALS AND
ASSISTANT PRINCIPALS BY SCHOOL LEVEL,
OREGON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1973-1974

Position and Level	Men		Women		Total Percentage
Elementary Principals	529		37		
		92.5%		7.5% =	100%
Elementary Assistant Principals	16		7		
Junior High Principals	103		2		
		97.4%		2.6% =	100%
Junior High Assistant Principals	85		3		
High School Principals	155		2		
		94.9%		5.1% =	100%
High School Assistant Principals	140		14		
Multilevel or Unknown	88	84.6%	16	15.4% =	100%
Total	1,116 =	93.2%	81 =	6.8%	

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF MEN AND WOMEN IN STAFF ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS, OREGON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1973-1974

Staff Positions	Men	Women
Director/Supervisor	257	75
Consultant/Coordinator	201	79
Counselor	467	369
Curriculum Development	103	41
General Administration	1,241	118
Planning and Evaluation	36	2
Other	102	14
Total	2,407 = 77.5%	698 = 22.5%

necessarily terminate one's career path. He says:

> The lack of occupational specialization causes a blurring of demarcation between line positions and staff positions. Thus movement up the hierarchy is not strictly a matter of movement up through the line positions. Staff positions are not dead-ends. As school people climb the ladder they tend to move back and forth between quasi-line and staff positions (p. 8).

The large discrepancy between the small numbers of women in top line positions and their much larger representation as staff members in local school districts suggests, however, that while staff positions may not be the final career end for the school careers of men, they do tend to be the highest rung on the management ladder that is achieved by women.

Quasi-line Positions

A careful analysis of the varieties of positions that are included under the label of "staff" indicates that some of these jobs actually involve some decision-making functions, making them quasi-line positions.

General Administration, for instance, is more of a quasi-line position than Counseling which is primarily a service job in relation to students. In Oregon, men fill 93 percent of the General Administration positions, while women fill the remaining 7 percent (see Table 6). In contrast, it is in Counseling and Guidance jobs where most women holding staff positions are located. In fact, when counseling and guidance positions are taken out of a statistical analysis of men and women in management, women's representation in staff positions is decreased by one-third, to 15 percent. Apart from guidance and counseling jobs, men occupy 85 percent of the staff positions in the Oregon public schools. Even though women are rather well represented in the support staffs of many Oregon school districts, their distinctiveness and power decreases when one considers that the quasi-line functions are the primary avenues to upward mobility in school administration.

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF MEN AND WOMEN IN STAFF ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS, EXCLUDING COUNSELING, OREGON PUBLIC SCHOL S, 1973-1974

Staff Positions	Men	Women
Director/Supervisor	257	75
Consultant/Coordinator	201	79
Curriculum Development	103	41
General Administration	1,241	118
Planning and Evaluation	36	2
Other	102	14
Total	1,940 = 85.5%	329 = 14.5%

The Effects of Marriage and Parenthood

Marriage is importantly related to career mobility in educational administration; however, it holds a different relationship for men and women. There is, in fact, a double sex standard in that the "healthy" and career conscious man is expected to have a wife and children. Contrastingly, the "healthy" woman with a husband and children is not expected to be oriented toward an upwardly mobile career. If she is concerned about career mobility, it is assumed that she is not married. In the instances where a career conscious woman is married many assume she is not satisfied with her marriage.

One woman seeking an administrative job in 1975 reported:

> They always ask me what my husband will do if I get the job. They figure I must be on the brink of divorce. When I tell them he's an accountant and a contractor and can set up his business anywhere I go, they seem to think that's strange.

In administration men have been more frequently married and women have been more frequently unmarried. Carlson says: "Simply being married enhances a school superintendent's career opportunities (p. 26)." Implicitly, this statement refers to a man's mobility toward the superintendency. To establish my point about a double standard, he further goes on:

> Marriage is so crucial to the superintendency that editors of professional journals allocate space to many articles written by superintendents and/or their wives, which rehearse the role of the superintendent's wife and her importance to her husband's career.

In a survey of 612 superintendents and school board members in 1958, 79 percent of the respondents stated that a superintendent should be

married (again, the implication being for males), and in another question 59 percent stated that a superintendent should not be divorced.

All the men I interviewed were married and had children, only one had been divorced and he related the explicit decision of school board members "not to publicize that fact." Of the 30 women administrators, four had never been married and six more were currently not married. For women in administration, and in education generally, marriage has been detrimental rather than instrumental for upward mobility. In fact, it has only been 25 years since many school districts had restrictions prohibiting a married woman from even being a teacher. One woman I interviewed recalled one of her job offers. "I was to teach all grades, not be married, not smoke or drink, teach Sunday School and only was allowed out of town one weekend a month." In a general survey of Massachusetts citizens in 1950, respondents were asked to rank the characteristics they wanted in their public school teachers. Overall, a married woman was ranked eighth in a list of 15 choices. A married woman ranked higher than a known Jew, a known militarist, a light Negro, a dark Negro, a known radical, a person in bad health, and a communist (Cook and Cook, 1950).

There is, however, some evidence that one's marital status is decreasing in its importance to women's career choices. Data from the National Education Association indicate that in 1966, 17.4 percent women left their teaching jobs for reasons of marriage. In 1971, this figure had been reduced significantly to 9.7 percent (NEA, 1973).

For women, however, the fact of having children continues to influence their professional lives. The same National Education Association data

showing a decrease of women leaving teaching for marriage reasons, showed a slight increase of women leaving the field for maternity reasons. In 1966, 17 percent left to have children; this was slightly increased to 18.9 percent in 1971. For men's career development the fact of children is usually never discussed; it is assumed that if there are children at home there is also a wife to care for them.

The most often cited reasons against the hiring of women in any position in education has been concern that a woman will become pregnant and leave her job. I remember well my first interview for a teaching job. One of the first questions asked by the director of personnel was, "Are you on the Pill?"

Women historically and currently have more "breaks in service" in teaching than men do. Twice as many women left Oregon public schools as men in 1973-1974, and the most often cited reasons were for pregnancy, retirement, and without plans for employment. Men's most often cited reason for leaving was to pursue another occupation.

Among the women I interviewed, 17 had children and 11 had children still living at home. Yet, among these women none had interrupted her career after becoming an administrator. Most of the men had interrupted their administrative careers for military service, going back to school or to pursue another occupation. Of course, men's careers as administrators were disrupted because the men had entered their administrative positions at an earlier age than all of the women. Women in gaining their administrative appointments at a later age had already taken their "break in service" when they were teachers.

Women with children had taken an average of five years away from teaching; some women had taken only a year off for the birth of each child, and one woman had experienced a 22-year hiatus before returning to education. One married woman with two pre-teen-age children discussed her career.

> I think starting my career before I married helped. I had only a brief intermission from my job when I had children. My husband has played an important role. He has filled in both with domestic chores and responsibility for the children. I've just managed to do it all these years and have learned how to balance things out.

A divorced woman with five children had gone back to school to receive an advanced degree and purposely chose to work in a community which she felt would facilitate the independence of her children.

> I've had an exceptionally fine group of children. I've chosen a community to live in and work in where the children can be independent without worry. Now, they all are in school and are very independent and they support and help me whenever they can.

Some women had taken several years off for their responsibilities of motherhood. One woman said:

> First I was a mother. Then I wasn't needed any more and I decided to do something else. Now my children are grown and my job takes first priority. My husband's job takes priority for him. Both people have to be willing for it to be this way.

And most women without children discussed how their lives would have been different if they had children:

> I married late and had grown step children. I wouldn't have done all this if I had married earlier and raised a family.

> If I had married and had a family it would have made a difference. No way can I see that an administrator in this school district has time to give to home. If a woman values

> home and family there is a real problem. When she takes time out to raise a family then it's too late, they think, to really move up in a career.

Some men also valued home and family and felt the pressures of their careers on their personal lives. One man I interviewed said:

> My personal and professional life are very poorly balanced. Something has to give and I don't want it to be my family. I am leaving on a vacation and my wife and I are going to spend the time making plans to readjust so we can work out a better balance.

Marriage and children have differential effects on the careers of women and men in educational administration and in our society. Whereas marriage helps rather than hinders men's career development, it is a handicap for women's professional mobility. Yet there is some evidence that men and women in many fields are searching for new ways to organize and balance their professional and personal lives. Some men feel deprived of sharing in the joys and burdens of child-rearing and many women wishing to pursue careers are reluctant to make the either/or choices professional tasks traditionally have demanded. One man I interviewed called administrative jobs "people-killing jobs," and I agreed. We concurred that it is high time for the educational profession to provide organizational arrangements through which men and women can find a congruent balance between their personal lives and their professional pursuits.

Levels of Advanced Training and Earning the Administrative Credential

Historically and currently women's level of advanced education is lower than men's. For Oregon, the comparisons of women's and men's levels

of higher education are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN CERTIFIED PERSONNEL AND DEGREE LEVEL, OREGON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1973-1974

Degree Level	Percentage of Men	Percentage of Women
- BA	.8	1.3
BA/BS	26.7	52.5
- MA/MS	18.7	20.5
MA/MS	50.8	25.5
PhD/EdD	1.5	.2
Total	99.5%	100.0%

Whereas more than half the men hold a master's degree, the analogous proportion of women have achieved the bachelor's degree. Furthermore, as indicated in Table 8, women who hold administrative posts have less

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS WITH AND WITHOUT MASTER'S DEGREE, OREGON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1973-1974

Degree Level	Percentage of Men Administrators	Percentage of Women Administrators
- MA/MS	6.6	26.1
+ MA/MS	92.4	73.9
Total	99.0%	100.0%

training than men holding administrative positions. One of the reasons for this is that women in administrative positions are most often in head teacher positions or staff positions which do not necessarily require the holding of a master's degree.

Women in Departments of Educational Administration

When female teachers return to the university for advanced training it is unlikely that they will enter programs in administration or take courses leading to an administrative credential; most often they go into counseling, special education, school psychology, or educational psychology.

Credentials for administration are offered by two institutions in our state. Historically the University of Oregon has had a monopoly on the training of administrators. Since 1970, Portland State University also has had a program leading to the principal's certificate but does not have a degree program. The University of Oregon offers the principal's and the superintendent's credentials as well as a doctoral program in educational administration. No woman has held a permanent faculty appointment in these departments prior to 1974, and women have always been a distinct minority in the student body. At the University of Oregon from 1961 to 1968, 89 men and fou[illegible] women were granted degrees in Education with a major in Educational Administration. In 1968, Educational Administration became a separate department and between that time and 1974, 92 men and four women were granted degrees. In 1970 and 1971 there were no female students, in 1972 one woman entered, in 1973 two additional women entered the program. In 1974-1975 there are 28 men

and nine women in the student body with current standing in the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Oregon.*

Two reports indicate that more women are entering schools of administration in the universities. One report in 1973 shows that 20 percent of the doctorates earned in education nationally were granted to women and that 13 percent of these were in educational administration or supervision (Taylor, 1973). Another report indicates a slight increase of women studying educational administration in a selected sample of universities in 1971-1973 (Lyon and Saario, 1973). Yet it is during the same period of time reported in these studies that the number of women has decreased as administrators in the schools. One superintendent reported there were four women in his 1973 graduating class in educational administration in a different state, yet none of these women had entered a position in a public school system.

The Effects of Marriage upon Graduate Training

Just as marriage has differential effects upon the careers of men and women in administration, it seems also to have effects on women's and men's differing levels of graduate training. The unmarried women I interviewed were similar to men in achieving training leading toward a credential or a degree--they enrolled in a program (often in the psychological services rather than educational administration, however) and took up residence at a university. Unmarried women with children

*Betty Jo Edwards, secretary to the Department of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, reported these figures.

followed a similar course.

Married women with families, however, followed a different course of action. Whereas all the men moved their wives and children to a university while they completed their training, no married women moved their husbands with them to a university. Married women with families in urban areas typically maintained their family residence and commuted to a nearby university. Married women with children in rural areas of the state set up separate residences from their husbands during the graduate training and took some or all of their children with them while working on their degrees. They all returned to their family residence upon completing their training.

Men and women who act as the "head of the household" often face financial difficulties in returning to school. Most men and some women, however, find some financial assistance by way of sabbatical leave or through employment as a graduate assistant. Schooling, like work, becomes a full-time activity.

Women with families, however, are often supported by their husbands, and most often their husbands are professionals with a sufficient income. Some women are not in need of financial assistance and prefer to devote their non-school time to their families. Of the nine women currently enrolled in the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Oregon, three receive financial support from the institution, whereas 12 of the 21 men on campus receive some financial support from the institution.

While more women may be economically able to go back to a university than men, they often cannot, or do not, make other kinds of sacrifices involved in getting advanced training. One woman said:

> I'm confined to certain givens--my family. I wanted to go elsewhere to school but couldn't leave my family to do it. I've had to make certain second choices in my career because of my family. Schooling is one of those sacrifices.

Just as marriage and parenthood have had differential impact on the careers of men and women in school administration, marriage has also had differential impact upon the advanced training of women. Many universities and school districts have met the problem of providing support to men who want to enter graduate school, yet universities and school districts have not provided suitable arrangements to facilitate the advanced training of women who are geographically bound to husbands and families.

Career Aspirations and Geographical Mobility

In research on the careers of school superintendents Carlson draws a distinction between the career-bound and the place-bound person. The place-bound person is

> the man who waits, simply continues work in the home school system until the superintendency is his. He may wait in vain; nevertheless he waits. His career is an ascent through the hierarchy in one school system, although he may have changed school systems earlier at some level beneath the superintendency (p. 39).

Whereas the career-bound person takes

> an active part in the pursuit of career objectives--one must confront the environment to get ahead. . . . A career bound person puts career above place. He leaves the home school system and takes a superintendency elsewhere. He is bound not to place, but to career (p. 40).

There are obvious parallels between women and place-bound persons, according to Carlson's analysis.

First, the place-bound person develops career aspirations later in life than the career-bound person. Women typically enter administrative positions at a later age than their male counterparts, and they have more years of experience in a school district prior to being given an administrative appointment; they also usually stay in one position longer than men (Gross and Trask, 1964).

A second characteristic of place-bound persons is they tend to find themselves at the "right place at the right time"; they do not actively strive or search for their position. Fourteen women out of the 30 women I interviewed had not sought their jobs; they were persuaded to take them. Furthermore, many women's original responses to an offer of a position with responsibility and influence betrayed their beliefs in their own inferiority; they said, "Who, me?" One woman said:

> Someone encouraged me. You must tap a woman on the back. Men are knocking on the door for administrative positions but women who could do the job, say "Oh, no. Not me!" It's a way of life with us. We have been indoctrinated to think we are not as good as men.

Third, a place-bound person usually comes up the ranks of a single district and is not geographically mobile. All the women I interviewed are geographically bound to their areas regardless of their family status. All the men I interviewed had served in at least two other school districts; only four of the women had served elsewhere. When men moved from a school district they typically also made an upward move in the hierarchy. Women did not change jobs as frequently and when they did,

it was more likely to be a horizontal rather than a vertical move. Women changed responsibilities, job titles and took on new assignments but remained at a similar level within the sm e hierarchy of the line of staff. In fact, only four women aspired to hold a higher administrative position than they now held. All the men I interviewed who were not ready for retirement foresaw a move to a higher position in another district, or a similar position in a larger district. Most women believed they would "do something different someday," but their career goals and plans were not very well formulated.

The Exceptional Woman

The differing career aspirations of men and women can be hardly surprising to anyone who has very carefully observed our society; men are encouraged, expected, and even pressured to be upwardly mobile and professionally successful; women are not expected to pursue successful leadership positions. Both men and women communicate these expectations to one another. Furthermore, those women who do strive for a position of influence and power are considered "exceptional." One woman said: "Women are respected when they are teachers; men feel they must move up. Men come in as teachers and have pressures for upward mobility." Men, compared to women, more clearly fit the picture of the individual "actively pursuing career objectives." In fact, several women commented that they were more free than men to choose jobs based on what they wanted to DO rather than what they wanted, or were expected, to BECOME. Men have pressures for upward mobility; a woman experiences success at lower

levels of accomplishment and does not have to take on the additional burdens and responsibilities of managerial power positions.

The career freedom of professional women was illustrated by the case of one woman I interviewed who had taken a managerial job with less responsibility and pay than she had before. By herself and by others I talked with, she was still considered a success whereas, most agreed if she had been a man, her move would have been considered a demotion and an indication of downward mobility, perhaps a show of personal failure. She commented:

> This job was really a demotion but it's what I really want to do. I found out that I was on the caterpillar-pillar, you know, the mobility ladder. And I decided I didn't want to live my life that way. As a woman I have that option. A man doesn't have as much freedom to get off the mobility ladder. When one gets off the caterpillar-pillar one turns into a beautiful butterfly. I'm off of it and I'm so glad.

The second-class status of women in education certainly portrays the differing aspirations of men and women, and while women do not hold positions of responsibility and power, they are not expected to assume the burdens of leadership roles. Indeed, they do not therefore experience the kinds of tensions that men do in their positions within school districts.

In summary, the facts about women's careers in administration echo what has been implicit in career research studies in education; since men represent the majority we think of what they do as being the universal pattern. Women's careers do not follow the routes leading to appointments to positions of high influence and responsibility. Women's career pattern differs from men's because: 1) women are decreasingly

represented in positions which are avenues toward administrative careers; 2) there are double standards about marriage for the careers of men and women in administration; 3) women obtain less graduate training than men--and when they do get training it is not in educational administration nor does it lead toward an administrative credential and 4) women's aspirations and geographic mobility are different from those of most of the men who have achieved positions in the superintendency. In the following chapters I will explore how particular societal norms have influenced the differential career patterns of men and women in education.

Chapter Three

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT AND STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN SCHOOLS

A single classroom, a school, an entire district, a state educational organization and even a nation-wide professional association all can be referred to as systems. Each is made up of patterned, predictable, and regularized relationships among the individuals and groups that constitute it and each is featured to some degree by both differentiation of function and internal integration and stability. Although the concept of "system" as I am referring to it here is an abstract unit of analysis, it can provide assistance in understanding the complexity of real social entities. For example, every social entity in the natural world exists within a broader environment. Nationwide professional associations exist within the broader society and the world; a school district exists within a community and state, a school itself exists within a district and a classroom, of course, exists within a school. Systems analysis turns our attention to the real complexity of schools; they are open living systems which are continually being influenced by and influencing their social environment.

This chapter makes use of the systems point of view to help explain sex differentiation in public education. I shall first explain the

concept of social system and then define the related sociological concepts of status, role and structural differentiation. I go on to analyze the social contexts of two levels of system that affect women's place in education; first, how the prevailing norms related to women's place in the society have influenced the kinds of jobs that women have tended to choose in Oregon public education and second, how different regions within Oregon embody different norms about the job-related behaviors of men and women which in turn affect the regional distribution of women's positions in school administration.

Social System--Role, Status and Structural Differentiation

A social system is constituted of a complex array of interactions among the participants. Those who take part on a regular basis come to know what behaviors are expected of them and they learn to predict the behaviors of others. Such a system takes on life beyond that of any of the individual participants and as such the system is maintained with considerable stability even when individuals come and go. Basic to most social systems in the real world are the behaviors and norms associated with the concepts of status and role.

A status is a position or job within a social system; the cluster of interrelated behaviors of the people who take each status is referred to as a role. It is typical of social systems that individuals who come to occupy a status position--such as a superintendent or a principal--enact their roles in predictable and fairly similar ways. Furthermore, status positions in a social system are not organized independently but

rather in relation to each other. For example, the status position of principal is interdependent with those of teachers and students, especially in terms of authority and social control. Indeed, in most organizations, including schools, some of the status positions involve taking the role of giving directives, while others involve the role behaviors of following or implementing directives. Where there are positions involving role behaviors of domination, there also will be positions with role behaviors involving submission.

There are many vivid examples of this interactive view of hierarchical social relations in our contemporary culture. Genet in his play, "The Maids," masterfully threads the complex interaction required for a mistress and her servants both in their exterior and interior lives. Some years ago, analogous to Genet's exterior analysis of maid-mistress interaction, James Baldwin in The Fire Next Time pointed out the concept of "nigger" could not exist unless there were cooperation between the one who called "nigger" and the one who believed he or she was in fact a "nigger." In psychology Berne discusses this interactive view on the interpersonal level in Games People Play, showing each victim needs a persecutor and each person playing the role of parent needs another person to play the role of child. At a more macro level of social analysis Paulo Freire in the Pedagogy of the Oppressed explains the unplanned collusion between those people who play the role of oppressors and those who are the oppressed within a society.

The specific role behaviors of any individual within a social system must be understood in terms of their connectedness to the role behavior

of others. A key concept for describing this dovetailing of roles is structural differentiation. In its simplest form, structural differentiation is merely a division of labor; particular people assume different status positions which involve certain role behaviors and accrue certain rights, privileges and responsibilities in connection with that position. To participate in a social system means that one comes to expect and accept that certain positions will have specified "accoutrements" attached to them. Consequently, those taking the status of managers come to behave differently than those who are managed. And managers will be expected to have more power, payment, burdens and responsibility than those who are managed regardless of who the individual actors are in the relationship.

In schools teachers manage students. Students and teachers behave in relation to one another out of expectations and beliefs each holds for the structured differentiation of organizational roles. When individual students or individual teachers are out of character with the expected behaviors of their status positions, there is confusion and chaos. Likewise, principals are expected to manage the school and thus to supervise teachers. Along with the formal role expectations, of course, informal expectations also influence relationships among all of these parties. All individuals holding similar status positions obviously do not perform their roles in exactly the same way. All teachers do not relate the very same way to students, nor do all administrators or students act alike. How a position gets played out depends in part on the individual's attitudes, values and idiosyncratic behavioral style. Still, status

positions are very important because a social system has an existence which is greater than any individual participant. Said in another way, the whole is different from the mere summing up of the parts. And in schools, as in other organizations, there are orderly procedures for making transitions when one individual leaves a status position and a new person fills it.

One of the ways in which a social system maintains stability is through formal procedures for selecting people to fill status positions. How a person qualifies for a status position is usually specified by designating characteristics that an occupant must possess. The status of administrators, for example, requires some degree of proof that the individual will be able to perform the behaviors expected for that job. Administrators are selected on the basis of having achieved certain levels of competence; they must have a bachelor's degree, they must have had classroom teaching experience and they must have or be working toward an administrative credential. Although typically individuals must demonstrate that they can adequately perform the role behaviors required of a particular status in education, one does not qualify for school administration positions by satisfying achievement criteria alone.

Women's Ascribed Status and Role Behaviors

If choosing a school administrator were based primarily on such role behaviors as exerting effective leadership in groups, as effectively working on instructional problems, or as having achieved certain levels of advanced university training, then more women would hold

administrative positions than they do. Many women already perform effectively as team leaders and department heads, many women show creativity daily in working through instructional problems and many women have achieved advanced university training. In addition, there is evidence--scanty though it may be--that women perform administrative roles more successfully than their male counterparts (Mesnick, 1974). If achievement criteria were the primary factor in the selection of individuals to fill administrative positions, women would not be such a distinct minority as administrators. In the following section I will show how women's ascribed status in the society, more than their levels of achievement in public education, is associated with the status positions they hold in Oregon public schools.

The concept of ascribed status was first introduced to me in a college sociology class; the text and the professor used the caste system of India to illustrate how one's birth into a social position determined one's fate and fortune in the society. The United States was presented at the other extreme--one could achieve any position through the dint of hard work and effort. Horatio Alger, Abraham Lincoln and even our ex-president Richard M. Nixon provide grist for the perpetuation of the American dream of an achieving society. Any individual can rise and better himself.

The myth of the American Dream about achievement was confronted in the 1830s by Detocqueville. In this century another foreign observer, Gunnar Myrdal, candidly pointed out the contradictions between our dream and our reality in The American Dilemma. He showed the error of our

assumption that any individual could achieve any position in the society; achievement depended in great part on one's race, creed and social origins. Like Myrdal, many writers, theoreticians, researchers and reporters have provided sufficient evidence to show that one's race, religion, social class and one's sex are decided factors influencing an individual's fate and fortune in the United States.

Even in the ideology the dream has been reserved for males (some would argue for white males). Women have been excluded from the dream; it is hardly surprising that it turns out they are excluded from the reality. Women's status in our society has been an important social context influencing women's status in the field of education.

Women's Legal, Political, Economic and Educational History

Historically women's place was only in the home; throughout modern history women's fate and future were dependent upon the success or failure of their fathers and their husbands. The unmarried woman was not only a social enigma, she was a social anathema. At the turn of this century American women had no universal representation under the law, were not allowed to hold property, had no rights to education and had no legal or moral protection from the abuses of husbands, fathers, brothers or sons. In 1919, Calhoun rendered this description of women's status in America.

> By 1900, wives might own and control their separate property in three-fourths of the states; in every state a married woman might dispose by will of her separate property, in about two-thirds of the states she possessed her earnings, in the great majority she might make contracts and bring suit. In many states the law provided that if the wife were

> engaged in business by herself or went outside the home to work, her earnings were her own. But all the fruits of her labor within the household still belonged to the husband (p. 5).

Harvard University opened its doors to English and Indian youth (males only) in 1636; it was 199 years before the Harvard faculty agreed to grant baccalaureate degrees to women and 296 years later in 1912 that women were formally included within the rubric of universal compulsory education. A few prominent women did make some advancements in education during the nineteenth century, however. For example, in 1819, Emma Willard issued "An Address to the Public; Particularly to the Members of the Legislature of New York Proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education." Although the legislature turned a deaf ear to her pleading, she was able to procure private support for the Troy Female Seminary in 1821, with the purpose of "securing professional advantages of education for my sex equal to those bestowed upon men." In 1837, Mary Lyon was instrumental in forming the first women's college, now Mount Holyoke College, and in 1841 Oberlin Collegiate Institute was the first co-educational school in the United States.

The Civil War, like other war years in our country, presented new possibilities for expanding the social status of women. It was during this time that the occupational role of school teacher was opened to women and since then women have predominated as teachers. A major political task of the aftermath of the Civil War was the establishment of a renewed federal government, and the scope of federal power was greatly increased in this period. An important development in 1867 was

the establishment of the Office of Education, and one of its first tasks was the problem of female education. While women were making their way into the occupation of school teaching, universal education had not yet occurred. Females still had few rights to education and there was continuing controversy about the appropriateness of females to be in charge of the instruction of the young, whom were then primarily males. The Boston Board of Education declared that women were "infinitely more fit than males to be the guides and exemplars of young children; they possessed milder manners, purer morals, which made the society of children delightful and turns duty into pleasure." To which the superintendent in Rhode Island responded; no matter how well qualified, a female teacher could not be employed "for the same reason she cannot so well manage a vicious horse or other animal, as a man may do" (Heath, 1974). The Civil War, however, was the end of male domination of the status of schoolteacher and it has not changed.

It was not until 1912 that universal compulsory education was mandated at the federal level, and in the 1912 mandate girls were included. And in 1920 women were granted the right to vote with full ratification of the 19th amendment. As women's rights to education, status as school teachers, and suffrage changed in the dawning of this century, the course of this century has brought dramatic shifts in the functions of home and family.

Women's Work in the Twentieth Century

Today for the first time in the history of the world, women's dutiful work as a housewife in the United States is by and large

superfluous for the survival of the family. A family's needs of food, shelter or clothing are no longer directly produced by the labor of the family; they are supplied by the wage earning ability of the head of the household. Needs and pleasures are bought on the market place. In earlier times women worked as an integral part of the family; the family was its own source of production, and women were an interdependent part of that production. Smuts (1959, 1971) summarized the history of women's work:

> In earlier centuries most women in America worked, and they worked throughout the whole of their adult lives. In fact, whether a farm family was affluent or impoverished frequently hinged on the competence of the wife. Exceptions were the small minority of families in middle and upper income classes who lived in urban centers. The major change in the pattern of women's lives occurred after the civil war and accelerating industrialization and urbanization ushered in a rapid increase in the urban middle class.

With increasing industrialization families depended on the market value of the wage earner of the family. Labor became a commodity of exchange on the market place and no longer directly related to the production of one's immediate necessities or pleasures.

Women's and men's massive entry into the labor force has followed the increasing industrialization of our country and families' growing dependence on the labor of a wage earner for their goods, services and pleasures. Figure 2 shows the difference in women's participation in the labor force in 1890 compared to 1970.

Smuts concluded about women's status in 1890: "By and large, however, commerce, management, the professions and skilled trades--all of the responsible, well paid jobs in the modern urban economy--were in the hands of men" (p. 24). And in 1971 Eli Ginsberg echos this appraisal of

1890	1970
--Women represented about 16% of the labor force.	--Women represented 35% of the labor force.
--About 5% of married women held jobs away from home.	--About 30% of married women held jobs away from home.
--About 70% of the female labor market was unmarried.	--About 30% of the female labor market was unmarried.
--Women with preschool children were not countable or counted.	--About 33% of women with preschool children were in the labor force.
--Women filled occupations of domestics, sales clerks and office jobs. Women were a minority of those occupations, however.	--Women occupy 70% of clerical roles 99% of domestic positions 55% of other service workers 27% of factory workers 14% of professional or technical workers.

Fig. 2. Women's Representation in the United States Labor Force, 1890 and 1970.

Source: Compiled from Havens, 1973; Smuts, 1971.

women's current status in the labor force: "All the responsible well paid jobs in the modern urban economy are held by men."

Sex-typed Occupational Roles

As women have increasingly entered the labor force, many people have expected that there would be an increasing parity between men and women in our occupational world. The expectation, however, is refuted by the facts. Valerie Kincaid Oppenheimer shows that there are increasing

restrictions defining the appropriate male and female occupations in the labor market (1973). Women are more and more concentrated in certain occupations, and the concentration of female dominated and male dominated jobs is increasing rather than decreasing. For example, at the turn of the century the position of clerical workers was male dominated; today women comprise 74 percent of the clerical workers in our country. Women's distribution in the labor force is far from random; women increasingly enter occupations where females predominate. Oppenheimer argues the ascriptive criteria of sex plays more and more a predominant role in the selection of individuals to occupy occupational positions and that these sex-based criteria reflect long-standing norms.

While Oppenheimer has clearly demonstrated the nonrandom distribution of women in the labor market, social scientists have been slow to research the meanings and values implied in this distribution. Most studies have been concerned with the sex role socialization of young children and many studies show that male and female children have internalized their appropriate adult sex roles in our society by the age of ten (Hartley, 1959).

One recent study providing a new direction for sex role research investigated the degree that individuals attributed certain personality attributes and behaviors to males and females (Broverman, et al., 1972). Using a questionnaire with almost 1,000 subjects the researchers asked individuals to characterize the behavioral attributes of males and females. They found high agreement on the norms and behavioral attributes surrounding the sex roles of men and women in our society. The

authors conclude:

> Our research demonstrates the contemporary existence of clearly defined sex role stereotypes for men and women contrary to the phenomenon of "unisex" currently touted in the media. Women are perceived as relatively less competent, less independent, less objective and less logical than men; men are perceived as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth and expressiveness in comparison to women. . . . Since more feminine traits are negatively valued than are masculine traits, women tend to have more negative self concepts than do men. . . . The stereotypic differences between men and women described above appear to be accepted by a large segment of our society.

The differing norms surrounding the behavioral roles of men and women in our society translate directly to the occupational world; men are to take jobs requiring initiative, independence, objectivity, leadership and ability; women are to fill roles requiring following directions, passivity, nurturance and the maintenance of favorable interpersonal relationships.

Furthermore, these norms and their implications for men and women in occupational positions are visible within the field of education. It is acceptable for a professional woman to take initiative, to be objective and to perform leadership functions with students but generally less acceptable for her to issue directives to adult professionals--especially to men. It is, however, quite acceptable and appropriate for men to take initiative, be objective and perform leadership functions with other adult professionals. In the following section I will investigate the norms about the sex typing of occupational roles that have influenced the actual distribution of men and women in education in Oregon.

Ascribed Sex Role Positions in Public Education

Education has always been an "appropriate" field for professional women. In fact, it has been one of the few professions open to women. Studies comparing the demographic characteristics of males and females in education point out one obvious difference in the backgrounds of male and female administrators in our schools (Gross and Trask, 1964). Women administrators generally have had a higher social class background than men. Men more often come from working class and rural backgrounds; women more often come from professional and urban backgrounds. Education has offered a ladder for upward mobility for males, while it has been one of the few open doors for female professionals.

Although women have been represented in administrative positions more in the past than they are today, they have always represented a distinct minority. The role behaviors of an administrator--taking initiative, issuing directives and managing the work of adult personnel--have always been considered appropriate for men. Women have occupied such positions only when there were few men to choose from or when the field was rapidly expanding.

In one study investigating the influence of sex upon the selection of school administrators Suanne Taylor confirmed the premise that management is a "man's job" (1971, 1974). In reviewing the criteria for selection of administrators in Massachusetts, she concluded:

> The analysis of the data revealed that the only factor which appeared to have any significance on the hiring process was that of sex. The other variables--age, type of position, length of experience, size of school district or background--did not have any valid correlation with the hiring process.

In Oregon, the trend is similar. Women are non-randomly represented in the field of education; this non-random representation reflects long-standing norms in relation to the sex typing of the administrator's position and the sex differential in the selection process. This is shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF OREGON CERTIFIED PERSONNEL
BY ASSIGNMENT AND SEX, 1973-1974

Positions	Women	Men
Teacher	84.0	72.2
Principal, Superintendent, Assistant Principal, Assistant Superintendent, Head Teacher	.5	11.3
Central Office Support Staff	1.3	5.4
Counselors	2.3	3.9
Coordinators/Directors/Supervisors	1.0	3.5
Librarians	3.9	.8
Special Education	8.1	3.4
Total	101.1*	100.5*

*These figures are more than 100% because there is some overlap between the categories Supervisors and Special Education.

Within the field, female teachers most often are in the elementary schools, while male teachers are typically working in the secondary schools--primarily the senior high schools. Table 10 shows the distribution of men and women teachers and their assigned levels.

TABLE 10

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS AT SCHOOL LEVELS, 1973-1974

	Women	(13,964)	Men	(10,108)
Elementary School	56	(7,873)	26	(2,626)
Junior High School	09	(1,296)	19	(1,820)
Senior High School	16	(2,178)	41	(4,147)
Multi-level or Unknown	19	(2,617)	14	(1,515)

Oppenheimer argued that the actual distribution of women in the labor market reflects attitudes toward the appropriateness of women in certain jobs. As verified by Table 9, there seems to be a direct relationship between sex and the probability of educational position. Besides being employed as teachers, women are likely to be in special education or to serve as librarians. For men, besides teaching, they are most likely to be in administration--either in line or staff positions.

The Appropriate Positions for a Woman in Education

Seventeen percent of the women professionals in the Oregon public schools are not classroom teachers. Twenty-eight percent of the men professionals in the Oregon public schools are not classroom teachers. The motivations for leaving classroom teaching are varied; the opportunity for increased pay, a new challenge, an opportunity to apply advanced training and a new career line are among the reasons women and men leave

the classroom and enter other positions in the field. Women who leave classroom teaching are most likely to go into special education. Men who leave classroom teaching are most likely to go into administration. Placements in both special education and administration require advanced university training, involve increased remuneration and both provide new challenges and career options. The number of women in special education and the number of men in administration indicate that sex is a differentiating factor and that the behavioral correlates are correspondingly associated with sex. Administration requires initiative, leadership skills and objectivity. Certainly, special education demands those qualities; yet those qualities are in relation to students, not in relation to adults. In fact, the argument about the appropriateness of a man dealing with adult professionals is even more marked when we look at special education; while women hold 75 percent of all the positions, men hold 40 percent of the supervisory positions. Even in this specialization a man will more often become a supervisor of teachers in that specialty than will a woman.

Women's emphasis on special education becomes even more pronounced upon examining the composition of the Intermediate Education Districts in Oregon.* The IEDs are county-wide educational agencies providing services and some financial equalization in school districts. There are a total of 240 jobs in the state IED system; of these 80 (or 33%) are held by women. Of these 80 women, 47 women are in special education assignments,

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*Compiled from the Oregon School Directory, 1973-1974.

and 30 special education assignments are filled by men. Yet men hold 76 percent of the supervisory and director positions in special education in the Oregon IED. There are 21 director positions; 16 are filled by men.

Certainly the societal norms that govern the role behaviors of the sexes have had a direct impact on men's and women's careers in public schools. Other than classroom teaching, women and men are more likely to be in positions demanding role behaviors amenable to the traits considered appropriate for their sex. Furthermore, the representation of female teachers decreases as students grow older. Most women are in the care of young children.

In the next section I will show the differing community norms of regions of the state of Oregon and demonstrate how differing social contexts can be important in understanding women's representation in our public schools.

The Regional Representation of Women in Oregon

It is obvious that the social context of schools has a measurable impact upon school functioning. A day in school for students, teachers and administrators is different in a school in the small town of Myrtle Creek, Oregon, than in a school in urban Portland, Oregon, with its complex of over 50 schools. Schools are open living systems; they are deeply affected by their environment. The influence of the social context is illustrated in two different studies.

Herriot and Hodgkins (1973) have studied the regional and community effects upon the output of a school. Measures such as achievement, years

of schooling, college entrance were measured as dependent variables, while the norms, values and attitudes of the regions in the United States were measured as independent variables. They found positive relationships between variables such as expenditures per pupil, the presence or absence of kindergartens, the structure of schools, and the number of high school and college graduates with the regional locations of schools within the United States.

In another study of organizational functions, Acker and Van Houton (1974) looked at the influence of traditional sex role norms in the society upon the role behaviors of individuals within an organization. They maintained that the sex differentials in recruitment policies and control strategies within organizations may be one of the most important and most overlooked variables affecting organizational function. They showed, for instance, that in a study of a clerical agency the majority of non-supervisory employees were women whereas the majority of supervisors and their bosses were men. They suggest that the traditional authority relationship between men and women in the society has direct impact upon the degree of occupational status segregation by sex. The greater the traditional norms about sex role behaviors in the society, the greater will be the organizationally derived power of males in supervisory positions. Although Herriot and Hodgkins do not look at sex role behaviors in their study, these two studies are parallel in the importance they attach to the social context influencing the organization of schools.

The importance of the social context of schools was obvious to me as I traveled the state of Oregon interviewing men and women in

administration. There was one simple and obvious fact; there were few or no women to interview in the southern and eastern parts of the state. An analysis of the regional distribution of women administrators in Oregon confirmed my impressions. Forty percent of the women administrators are in the Willamette Valley in school districts which serve 32 percent of the students in the state.* The Willamette Valley is a narrow span of 120 miles crossing through five counties. In six counties in Oregon there are no women in administrative positions in the public schools (Crook, Lake, Morrow, Sherman, Umatilla and Wheeler); when I excluded women who were head teachers of schools serving less than 50 students, six more counties were added to the list (Curry, Gilliam, Grant, Harney, Jefferson, Wallowa). In Oregon 12 out of 36 counties have no women performing administrative functions of influence and responsibility, and all of these counties are in eastern and southern Oregon. This is shown in Figure 3.

Southern Oregon is logging and farming country; its largest school district is Medford serving 9,911 students. The John Birch Society and other right-wing groups have flourished in this area for many years. The major cities of Roseburg, Medford, Grants Pass and Klamath Falls are dotted with lumber mills and the usual service features of a city. Southern Oregon College grants a teaching credential and is located in Ashland which also houses the Shakespearean Theater. In five minutes

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*The districts of Springfield, Eugene, Corvallis, Salem, Portland, Beaverton and David Douglas were compiled from the 1973-1974 Oregon School Directory.

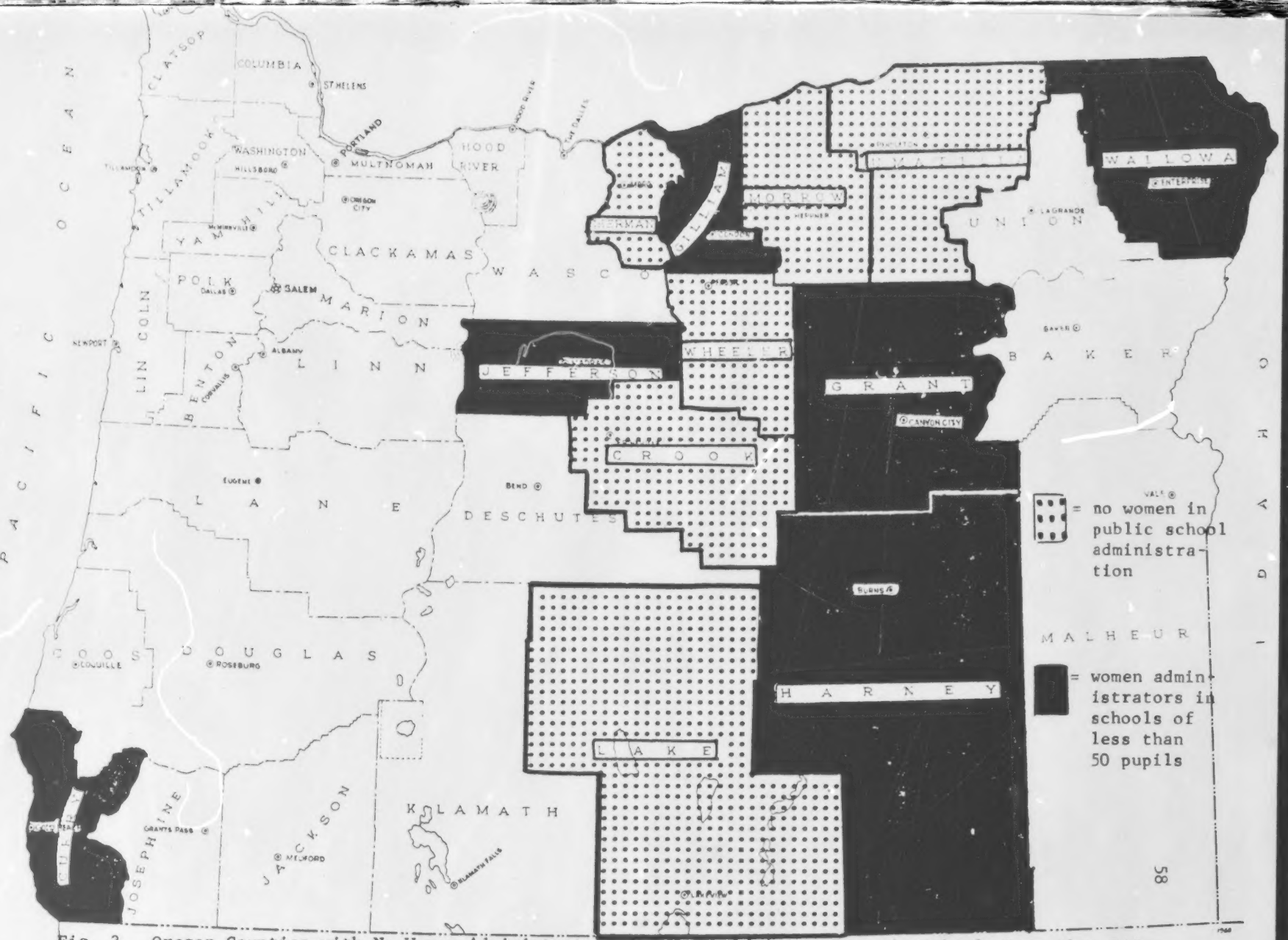

Fig. 3. Oregon Counties with No Women Administrators and Women Administrators in Schools Less than Fifty

from the heart of any southern Oregon city one can be in open meandering countryside with foothills joining the Siskiyou Mountains, the major ridge separating Oregon from California.

Eastern Oregon is ranching country. Traveling the main east-west highway in the summer one sees only desert with the irrigated patches of green visibly in contrast to the burnt yellow bluffs and dry hills. Off the highway it is a virtual wonderland of green: lakes, waterfalls; one of the largest and most untamed wilderness areas of the state is in the northeast corner. Eastern Oregon is the home of cowboys; late summer brings tourists to visit the Pendleton Round Up and other rodeos in the area. This is obvious in Pendleton, the largest school district serving 3,745 students, where cowboy boots, hats and levis are the common dress, and there are as many pick-up trucks with their gun racks visible as there are automobiles on the streets.

One common characteristic of each of these areas is their relative social isolation and cultural insulation; although southern Oregon is only a four-hour drive away from Eugene at the southernmost end of the Willamette Valley and Pendleton only a four-hour drive from Portland at the northern end of the valley. Both of these areas in southern and eastern Oregon fit the description of the "traditional society" characterized in the Herriot and Hodgkins study.

Traditionalism and Ascribed Sex Roles

One question I asked administrators in southern and eastern Oregon was why there were no women in management positions in the schools. Several times the immediate jesting response was, "Well, here we still

believe men are men and women are women!" One aspect of traditional societies described in Herriot and Hodgkins is the emphasis placed on past events and customs; the traditional roles of men and women are very clear. Furthermore, individuals in small communities are more bound by informal restrictions on their behavior. School districts in these communities are close and in-grown systems and are more rigid in their informal norms than in urban centers where anonymity provides some degree of individual freedom. People know most of the other people in the schools in these districts; they not only know each other, they know each other's families. In addition, there is suspicion about newcomers and the "radical" ideas they will bring with them. Two superintendents said:

> I believe I was the first outsider in 20 years. And there has been only one administrator from outside the state since I've been here--and I'm about ready to retire. This is a paternalistic in-grown institution.
>
> * * *
>
> This is an insulated community. People tend to stay here and get in-grown. For instance, I asked the new teachers this year how many were born here. There were 47 new teachers. Thirty had come from here and were graduated from this high school.

In one rural district a woman had applied. The superintendent told how "she blew it."

> She had more experience but he had more training in administration. Then there was the same old bit. We began getting calls from people who said they didn't like Mrs. _____. There was too much feeling against it. She shouldn't have talked about it beforehand but she had to tell someone that she was going to have an interview. I really didn't think it was fair for her to have to walk into a school with problems like that before she got there. We hired the man.

Even if the superintendent or the school board prefers to have a woman administrator, there are forces in the community which prevent them

from making non-traditional choices. Administrators are not trouble makers. Any administrator who creates tension and conflict in a community is one who will bring additional worries and frustrations to other administrators as well as to his or her own doorstep. One superintendent reacted on these pressures when there was an opening for an elementary school principalship.

> I selected six teachers and asked them to come talk with me about what they wanted in a principal. There were four women and two men. I asked them how they would feel if their principal was a minority group or a woman. I thought they would slap my face for asking such an outrageous question. I thought they would slap me for underestimating them. But they said they would have strong reservations about that because the community wouldn't accept it. I met with a group of parents and asked the same thing and expecting they would be angry with me for asking such a silly question. They said they didn't care, but they didn't think other people in the community would be able to live with a Black or a woman.

In addition to the traditional sex typed norms in these communities is another major deterrent facing women--the distance to the university where credentials can be earned. Two superintendents talked about two female head teachers they had encouraged to go back to school to get their administrative credentials; in both cases the women reported they would not go "all the way to Eugene." As I reported earlier, two women in eastern Oregon had set up separate residences from their family home when they returned to the university for their degrees. The psychological and geographical distances between the university and the rural homesteads are major deterrents facing women throughout southern and eastern Oregon.

Yet there are women with advanced training in these rural areas; of the 12 counties that have no women in public school administration there

are 15 women in the IEDs. In fact, the women in the IEDs represent 39 percent of the IED staff (there are 38 positions). At least one woman in these 12 counties has a doctorate. Most of the women in the IEDs are in special education. Although many women in these parts of the state did go back to a university, they did not enter the department of educational administration. A major reason they were in the IEDs is because there was no comparable position available in their local school districts.

Small school districts are the simplest hierarchical structures in education; there are only three occupational classifications--teacher, principal and superintendent. There are few or no supervisory or support personnel which typify urban school districts. When we consider the fact that of women administrators in the entire state only .51 percent are in traditional line positions, women's lack of representation in administration in rural areas is not so surprising. Several superintendents told me how women in the past had filled support and service functions in the central offices of their school districts. Yet with increasingly higher prices and increasingly tighter school budgets these positions were the first to go.

Societal norms and the regional norms manifested in particular communities regarding the appropriate behaviors of the sexes are indeed operative in Oregon. And even though more women used to be in administrative positions in the schools, this non-random distribution of women and men in education has been the case for many years.

Most often individuals--male and female--do not question the basic assumptions regarding their socialization. The year of 1975 seems to be ushering in a new era, and women and men are beginning to question the implicit policies of the importance gender plays in the selection of those who will run our public schools.

Chapter Four

WHY AREN'T THERE MORE WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATION?

WOMEN ARE THE REASON

Sex has a major influence on an individual's aspirations and achievements both generally in our society and specifically in the field of education. In education, for instance, when upwardly mobile men leave the classroom they are quite likely to become administrators, whereas when upwardly mobile women leave classroom teaching they are most likely on their way into jobs in the psychological services branch of the school district or the county office. The non-random distributions of men and women in the labor force and in professional education attest to the strong societal norms that govern the appropriateness of status positions and their behavioral correlates for both men and women. These norms are adhered to by the vast majority of men and women in our society. In this chapter I shall illustrate how women internalize these norms so that the females in education, by and large, do not come to aspire to hold administrative positions in our schools.

A major issue in social psychological research has been the description and explanation of how individuals come to take on the attitudes, values and behaviors expected of them. Women have been the topic of this type of investigation, and the systematic research that

exists today indicates that the social and psychological dynamics of being a female in our society is one important causative factor leading to women's under-representation in school management.

The results of a great deal of research on women's achievement--or lack of achievement--in our society have been succinctly summarized by Lois Hoffman (1972). She wrote:

> The failure of women to fulfill their intellectual potential has been adequately documented. The explanations for this are so plentiful that one is almost tempted to ask why women achieve at all. Their social status is more contingent on whom they marry than what they achieve; their sense of femininity and others' perceptions of them as feminine is jeopardized by too much academic and professional success; their husband's masculinity, and hence their love relationship as well as their reciprocal sense of femininity, is threatened if they surpass him; discrimination against women in graduate school admittance and the professions puts a limit on what rewards their performance will receive; their roles as wives and mothers take time from their professional efforts and offer alternative sources of self-esteem. Perhaps, most important, they have an alternative to professional success and can opt out when the going gets rough.
>
> . . . but women's underachievement must have roots deeper even than these, for the precursors of the underachieving women can be seen in the female child (pp. 129-130).

Female superiority in school is by now one of the most thoroughly documented pieces of data in educational psychology. Girls learn to read earlier than boys. They score higher during the elementary school years on standard intelligence tests than boys. In fact, they score higher than their male peers on achievement tests throughout elementary and secondary school, and they get better grades than boys even in the college years (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1975). Most early childhood specialists agree that girls develop and mature earlier than boys. This commonly accepted fact received the proof of professional folk wisdom upon the

birth of our second born, a son. The female pediatrician pointed out both to my husband and me that we should not have the same expectations for this newly born son as we had for our first-born, a daughter. Her concluding remarks were, "Now remember, boys are inferior to girls!"

Despite boys' lower grades, lower achievement scores, lower intelligence test scores and even presumed "inferiority," they do outnumber girls in making entry into college; this sexual differentiation increases even in graduate school. Furthermore, once at work in our society, men make more money than women and they tend to get jobs with more prestige and responsibility than women even when the educational backgrounds are the same between the sexes. And these differences are true of the education profession as well.

Comparison of Male and Female Educators

In the field of education, women on the average make less money than men; they characteristically hold lower prestige positions than men, and they do not take on the burdens of responsibility for running our schools. Why? There are at least five important reasons: 1) Women typically obtain lower levels of advanced university training than men and do not earn the credentials required for administrative positions. 2) Women typically show less professional perseverance than men in pushing on within the field of education. 3) Only a few women apply for administrative jobs. 4) Women typically require more interpersonal encouragement and support before they apply for administrative jobs than their male counterparts. 5) And perhaps most importantly, many women do

not have trust in their own abilities to adequately perform leadership roles that have been traditionally designated as a "man's job." In the following sections I will discuss each of these five factors.

Women Have Less Advanced Training Than Men

In the past as well as in the present, women have obtained fewer years of formal schooling than men. This is true in Oregon and throughout the United States. Tables 11 and 12 reflect the changing pattern of advanced university training in the United States and in Oregon.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF UNITED STATES CERTIFIED PERSONNEL AND LEVEL OF ADVANCED TRAINING BY SEX*

Degree Level	1961		1971	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Less than BA	4.2	19.3	2.1	3.4
BA	55.1	65.1	54.8	77.4
MA or 6 Years	39.8	15.5	42.6	19.0
Doctorate	.9	.1	.6	.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	100.1%

*NEA, Status of the Public School Teacher.

As indicated by the data in Tables 11 and 12, there have been some strides among women especially at lower levels of educational attainment; nevertheless men in the educational profession continue to achieve higher levels of formal schooling than women. Even within administration, men have more years of formal schooling than women. For instance, in Oregon, of the male administrators 92 percent hold a master's degree or above,

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF OREGON CERTIFIED PERSONNEL AND LEVEL OF ADVANCED TRAINING BY SEX

Degree Level	1966-1967		1973-1974	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Less than BA	1.7	7.4	.8	1.3
BA/BS	31.5	61.4	26.7	52.5
Less than MA/MS	19.9	14.8	19.7	20.5
MA/MS	46.1	15.8	50.8	25.5
PhD/EdD	.6	.1	1.5	.2
Total	99.8%	99.5%	99.5%	100.0%

whereas only 73 percent of the women administrators have earned a master's degree or above. Furthermore, as indicated in Chapter II, when women do enter graduate schools of education, they do not typically register in departments of educational administration.

Women Have Less Perseverance Than Men

One important factor in getting an administrative job is sheer perseverance. In fact, sweat of the brow may be more important in obtaining school administrative status than competence and credentials. For instance, looking at the records for applications for principal and assistant principal positions in one Oregon urban school, men reapplied for an administrative position on the average of three times during a four-year period, and women reapplied on the average less than one time.

Length of service to the district also has been one formal or informal criterion in the selection of administrators; statistics made available by the National Education Association indicate that women

persist less in the same school district in contrast to men, as shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13

UNITED STATES PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS' YEARS OF TEACHING IN THE PRESENT SYSTEM BY SEX, 1961, 1971*

Years of Service	1961		1971	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1- 2	32.7	24.0	25.0	29.8
3- 4	21.8	16.3	20.7	18.6
5- 9	25.0	20.6	25.8	22.1
10-14	9.4	11.9	16.5	11.7
15-19	4.4	9.8	5.7	7.7
More than 20	6.7	17.4	6.2	10.2

*NEA, 1971, The Status of the Public School Teacher.

These data indicate that over the past 15 years there is virtually an inverse relationship between men's and women's length of stay in a school district. More men remained in their present school system in 1971 than in 1961, whereas the reverse trend is obvious for women. One explanation that can be offered for this changing trend is that over the past generation female educators have more frequently entered into marital relationships and have had children. In other words, women in recent times have been more likely to hold onto their educational careers while also bearing and rearing children. Twenty years ago there were fewer

married women in education than there are today.

Where administrative positions are concerned, however, women continue to have had more years of experience in other school status positions prior to becoming an administrator than men. The increasing perseverance of men in the profession coupled with the increasing numbers of women who will interrupt their careers to raise a family and the informal professional norm that women should have more years of formal experience "under their belt" than men before being appointed to administrative positions all conspire to unequalize the female-male ratio in school management.

Women Do Not Apply for Administrative Positions

In reviewing the screening committee records for administrative jobs in an Oregon urban school district for the past four years, I discovered that out of a population of 329 in-district applicants, 45, or 14 percent, were women. And the very large majority of these women were applying for elementary school principalships. Although other school districts in Oregon do not amass systematic records about their applicants for administrative status, I asked many superintendents about the female applicants in their district. Most of these male superintendents whom I talked with, especially in rural areas, could not recall even one woman applying for an administrative job within the last ten years. In the rare cases where a superintendent did recall having a female applicant, the event was remembered whimsically and was not viewed as a serious application.

Women Require More Support and Encouragement to Become an Administrator

A well-executed study of school administrators carried out by Gross and Trask (1964) reported that 54 percent of the women elementary school principals interviewed cited the "influence and persuasion of others" as a primary reason for their becoming principals. In contrast, only 26 percent of the men cited this particular reason. This finding about the lack of female persistence is consistent with the results of my interviews of 30 female administrators in Oregon.

The female administrators that I interviewed when earlier presented with their opportunity to take on a position of responsibility and influence betrayed their own lack of self-confidence and often responded with the query, "Who, me?" In other words, they indicated their disbelief, almost incredulity, in considering that they might be appropriate for an administrative position. Indeed, one woman described herself as literally driven to work. She explained:

> I've been pushed every step. I can't say I've ever taken much initiative in my career. I've taken initiative on the job but I have never looked for another position. I was pushed into one job where I had to visit schools and I couldn't drive. The first year the district provided transportation. The second year the superintendent told me a driver's license was a must, so I learned to drive.

Women's Low Self-esteem

Some of the most formidable barriers to women's entry and upward mobility into management positions in school organizations is their own lack of self-confidence, their deprecation and their doubts about their ability as capable individuals to do a good job. It is true that most of the 30 women administrators I interviewed were successfully performing

their jobs, most of them had a strong self-concept and most possessed a sureness about their own competency. Yet many women in sober moments of reflection confided in me about their earlier feelings of incompetence. They said such poignant things as:

> I began feeling very inferior, then I found out that I could keep up. I could reason and I had a pretty good mind after all.
>
> * * *
>
> I had always intended to become a principal but I never got there. For one thing I was afraid of the idea that people would think I was good enough to tell others what to do. I didn't feel that I was that great.
>
> * * *
>
> For this job I was asked. If it hadn't been otherwise I never would have applied for it. I wouldn't have thought that I had very good qualifications.

Why are Women's Aspirations and Achievements Different from Men's?

A variety of theorists have attempted to explain the dissonance phenomenon offered by the intellectual promise of the blossoming young girl and the stark reality of the underachieving mature woman. Biological theorists refer to primate research and conclude that differential behavioral characteristics are inevitably linked to one's biological sex. Psychoanalytic theorists stress the differential development of the sexes resulting from the complex interactions of Oedipal-like relationships with parents. Some sociologists have argued that the family as a microcosm of modern society sets the stage and reflects the relationships between the sexes. In the family women take the expressive role while men play more of an instrumental role; furthermore, these roles are viewed by some sociologists as necessary for the survival of the family. Thus massive institutional pressures are placed on both men and women to

play their respective roles in the family and in the society. Economic theorists often view men's control of the societal resources and their dominance over the market place as factors leading to the deliberate perpetuation of women's status as secondary participants in the socio-economic structure. Finally, much of the religious dogma of our western world prescribes the role of men as the protectors and providers of women and children; women are to obey men and bear and raise the children. The respective roles of men and women are explained as what "ought to be" according to sacred law.

I think all the above theories are lacking in perspective; while traditional biological and psychoanalytic theorists pay attention to the individual in the role relationship between the sexes, they ignore the social context of the interactive effects of behaviors. Economic and functional sociologists raise the issues about the social context in which behavior occurs, yet they ignore the psycho-dynamics of the individual. And religious dogma rejects both the reality of the individual and the social context and points to interpretations of sacred law as what "should be."

In explaining the differential aspirations and achievements of the sexes I prefer a more dynamic explanation; one that includes the reality of the individual and the setting in which the individual behaves. All human beings come to have differing needs and psychological predispositions which follow them through their adult life which largely depend on the social environments in which they are reared. Individuals develop through interaction with others; they come to live out the explicit or

implicit expectations of others continually through their development. Our society has differential roles and expectations reserved for the male and female children we bring into the world; the norms of the society are communicated very early to our male and female children.

Whereas structural differentiation is the social mechanism by which a society determines the rights, privileges and burdens of individuals who hold certain status positions, interpersonal expectations represent the social psychological mechanisms by which an individual comes to possess hopes about achievement. Boys and girls hold expectations toward what they want to become and what they hope to achieve. In one study of fourth grade children boys and girls were asked to choose among 15 responses to the question, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" Girls mostly wanted to be librarians, nurses and beauty operators, the least preferred choices of boys. Boys wanted to be coaches, forest rangers and astronauts (Schmuck and Harris, 1974).

Maccoby and Jacklin's recent compendium of psychological research (1975) on sex differences investigate at what age children's activities and interests become differentiated into "masculine" and "feminine" patterns. Several studies show clear tendencies for girls and boys to choose stereotypically sex appropriate activities as early as four years old. And the older children let the sex stereotyping behaviors remain, and there is evidence suggesting boys engage in more sex typed behaviors than girls. It is fairly well documented that children in our society are clear about their appropriate sex role in their pre-school years.

In the following section I shall illustrate the social and psychological forces upon women in our society which lead them to defer to males and exclude themselves from status positions of responsibility and power in the schools.

Early Differential Socialization

In his inimical fasnion of encapsulating a compendium of psychological good sense with common sense, Charles Schultz in his Peanuts cartoon portrayed the precursors to the underachieving woman. Sally, at the age of five, concludes, "I never said I wanted to BE someone. All I want to do when I grow up is to be a good wife and mother. So . . . why should I have to go to kindergarten?" How does it occur that five-year-old wise Sally has already figured out her future stock and trade in the society? No less precise, although more explicative is the answer supplied by Lois Hoffman (1972). Hoffman points to the differential treatment of boys and girls in the early pre-school interactions with their parents. Girls, compared to boys, are not encouraged to be independent, are treated more overprotectively and have fewer pressures for establishing an independent identity from their mothers. Girls also have less conflict with the mother than boys and generally engage in l[illegible] curious explorations of the environment. Hoffman believes that as a consequence of these socialization patterns girls grow up to be more dependent on others than boys

Basic to Hoffman's research and line of reasoning, is the assumption that all humans have motivations for achievement, affiliation and power. Hoffman says that this early differential treatment of boys and girls

leads to boys learning behaviors toward mastering the environment while girls learn to elicit help from others to master the environment. Power, for boys, is achievement through direct mastery; power, for girls, is achievement through eliciting help. Because of this strong dependency on other people that is developed in girls, affiliative or affective relations become paramount, while for boys mastery of the physical environment becomes a predominant motive for behaving. One's definition of an "adequate self" consequently becomes entwined with the definition of self for eliciting help or efficacy through personal mastery over the elements.

Hoffman explains much of the early intellectual superiority of girls as the motive to "please" rather than a motivation to master. In fact, the criticism of the "feminized" school is directed at the attempts of teachers to make boys as compliant and as willing to please as young girls.

The Affiliative Adult Woman

In a separate empirical study Horner (1972) substantiates Hoffman's line of reasoning and demonstrates how adult females sacrifice their achievement motives for the sake of their affiliative motives. Horner states that existential anxiety is aroused in any individual when the consequences of a given action are expected to be negative. In women, such anxiety is aroused in situations which call for achievement-oriented behavior. Because of women's strong motives for affiliation, the consequences of achieving may result in negative consequences of someone not "liking" them or questioning their appropriateness. Consequently women

depress their intellectual mastery to ensure positive affective consequences. This is not to say that women "want to fail" or have a motive to approach failure; it does say the women who strive for success must resolve the anxiety-producing behaviors of losing affect which is inimical to the expectations of the "feminine role" in our society.

The theory about women's higher needs for affiliation than achievement is powerful because it combines both the motivational predispositions of individuals and the social norms governing the behaviors for the sexes. One is contingent upon the other, indeed as it is in reality. Jean Lipman-Blumen (1973) has demonstrated that many women are channeled into patterns of vicarious achievement rather than direct achievement as a means to solve the dissonance created by being feminine as well as being achievement oriented.

Since the traditional high status roles in the society are reserved for males, women can only vicariously achieve such status roles through the direct achievements of husbands or children. Therefore women can play their feminine role and nurture and help the direct achievers reach success without endangering their own femininity. The effects of Hoffman's, Horner's, and Lipman-Blumen's theories have been clearly illustrated by the work of Komorovsky (1973) who has demonstrated that females often depress their performance on intellectual tasks to avoid the negative consequences of "unpopularity" or the lack of male attention. College women often suffer uncertainty and insecurity because the traditional female role is in dire opposition to norms for occupational and academic success. If a woman can't be a lawyer, at least she can be

a lawyer's wife.

It is interesting to note that many women who have achieved positions of power and responsibility tend more often to be unmarried or to be divorced than men in similar situations. For instance, among the women administrators I interviewed, four were never married and six were divorced or widowed and not remarried. Only one male administrator I interviewed had been divorced; he had remarried. This trend is evident in national census information; for women earning $7,000 and above, 31 percent had never married and 12 percent were divorced. For men, only 3 percent had never married and one percent were divorced (Havens, 1973). Furthermore, divorced women more often stay unmarried than divorced men. In light of the research about women's affiliative motives, one can reasonably argue that one situational factor prodding a female toward achievement motivation is associated with a disruption in her affiliative needs. Divorce certainly represents such a disruption. Performance no longer is sacrificed by women when the situation calling for affiliative and affective motives is removed.

Women's Self-concept

The concept of self plays a predominant role in the developing individual; the self is formed through constant interaction with others who have differing expectations for the behaviors of young boys and girls. Women's self-concept becomes entwined with their abilities to elicit help from others and how well they nurture a direct achiever; while men's self-concept is strengthened by their efficacy in mastering the environment. The professional woman with achievement goals faces a

conflict between the expectations of the traditional role behaviors for women and the demands of the occupational position they hold. This conflict faced by professional women is played out in two spheres--conflict because of the expectations of others and self-conflict because of the incongruity between the expectations of being "feminine" and the behaviors demanded by the job.

The Expectations of Others. Role conflict involves contradictory expectations for performance from different people. Women in administrative positions represent a case in point. They stand between one set of interpersonal expectations for how they should behave as women and a contrasting set of expectations for how they should behave as administrators. On the one hand, they are supposed to be subservient, nurturing and non-initiatory, yet as administrators, they are supposed to be independent, assume leadership and take initiative. One woman administrator said it clearly:

> People seem to have the expectations that a professional woman is brittle and hard. People are surprised that I'm soft and feminine. I'm not forceful. I'm more supportive with my staff. Yet I can be hard. I turned in a bad evaluation for two people; they had performed irresponsibly in my estimation. I can do that. I can do my job even if it is distasteful.

Another woman said:

> Women are treated differently by men but we have a job to do so we do it. There are times the boys get together and I'm not included. It was hardest at first when all the men in the office were new to me. But I did as the men did. They were surprised I think, that I do all I do. I've walked in riot zones, I can handle discipline. You make the contributions you can.

Most of the women in administrative positions had learned to cope with

their role conflict adaptively. As one woman administrator said:

> It used to bother me when people kept insisting two or three times that they wanted to see the principal and it required two and three statements from me saying I was the principal. I still get those questions and the double-takes, but it doesn't bother me any more.

Self-role Conflict. Even more important than the expectations of others, is the degree of phenomenological congruity individuals develop between their own professional role-identity and their core self-concept. How do females, who have been so well socialized to accept the traditional feminine self-identity of passivity think about themselves when confronted with a job requiring initiatory behavior and leadership? In my interviews I asked the women both how they viewed their own femininity and the femininity of other women administrators.

I expected to find some evidence of women's negative attitudes toward themselves as women and toward other women administrators. Epstein's research on women lawyers gives many examples of women's negative views toward other women professionals. Self-hatred is, of course, a common type of self-role conflict and a common phenomenon when individuals of a minority group reach positions of status and power. It involves the psychological dynamics of overidentification with the group in power and a rejection of individuals in their own minority group cohort. Such individuals have been known as Uncle Toms, Uncle Tomahawks or Tio Tacos; perhaps for women they should be labeled as Betty Crockers. I found only one example of self-hatred from a woman administrator who said:

> I think basically women aren't administrators. They are nervous, they get excited, they don't get prepared and don't think about it. The women principals complain about not

> advancing, they complain, complain, complain. They are disloyal, they act like they are oppressed instead of getting ready to do a job.

This was, however, the only example of self-hatred I found in talking with 30 women administrators I interviewed as well as other women administrators I have talked with since the formal termination of my interview study. I believe the difference in my findings in 1974 and Epstein's findings in 1970 can be explained in great part by the consciousness-raising issues of the women's movement. Women see themselves today as functionally allied whereas more women have been "Betty Crockers" in 1970. Generally I would characterize the women administrators I have talked with as having clear and congruent self-images. Understandably, women who are in a minority group status and who face conflicting expectations of others on a daily basis must have "their heads on pretty straight" to survive. Evidently, for those women who have achieved high status, there already is a self-congruence and a well-developed ability to integrate their societally ascribed roles with their professional roles as female administrators. Moreover, my interviewees expressed a feeling of sisterhood for their same-sex cohort in school administration even though many of them expressed considerable ambivalence about affirmative action programs. Many of the women I interviewed were afraid of the stigma of being a "token" woman especially since they had worked very hard at competently performing their jobs. The sense of sisterhood was best expressed by one woman principal:

> It used to be when I walked into a room full of men and only one woman I would tend to ignore her. Now when I walk into a similar situation the woman and I at least have eye-contact. I don't necessarily sit by her and I may not even

> talk to her, but we have a feeling of sisterhood and we support each other. There's too damn few of us (women), we found out we need to support each other. If there were more of us we would be free to act just as folks, but because there are so few of us, there is a common bond of being women.

The Reference Group. The few women who are in line administration within schools may possess congruent self-images because they are virtually forced to be very self-reliant. They are professionally isolated and virtually without any psychological support or without a reference group of like-minded professionals. Only two women out of 30 I talked with reported no difficulties or roadblocks in their jobs because of male colleagues.

Men administrators, in contrast, have one another to share common problems, they have national and state meetings to meet their "brothers" and to share their jokes and gripes, and they have other male administrators in meetings of their own school district. Women administrators have no such common allies or group that they can count on. They share common problems with other men administrators but one of their unsharable burdens is the problem imposed upon them by their male colleagues. One woman working with an all-male staff said:

> I'm more qualified than anybody I work for but they make it very difficult. I think I threaten them. This area can't afford quality. I initiate something and get my hands slapped. Research reports and grants get filed away. "Don't muddy the waters," is the message I always get. I'm forever initiating and forever getting my hands slapped. Sure, it's because I'm a woman.

And another woman reported the problem she faced by attending a state convention.

> I never really thought about me being a minority group until I went to a principals' meeting. 550 men and 4 women. I thought to myself, "What are you doing here?" It was like being at an Elks Club meeting. When the master of ceremonies said, "Will you guys please stand for the flag?" I was really annoyed. I was very sensitive to that and I am not a militant. Later he apologized but the damage had been done.

And even in the informal relaxing hours following meetings women must face similar problems.

> There was a local workshop in our district. I was the only woman there, the master of ceremonies kept apologizing to me, for the things he said. Then I was in a restaurant and one of the superintendents who was at the meeting came up to me and asked me if I were an administrator (evidently he didn't believe I was an administrator). Then he asked for my credentials. I meekly answered his questions. After he left I really got angry. I was caught flat-footed.

Women in administration have no reference group; men administrators present the problems themselves, the female teachers are on the other side of the bargaining table and female secretaries often do not share an administrator's educational concerns.

The importance of a reference group was clearly brought to my attention in the fall of 1974. I had concluded interviews with administrators around the state; however, I had not conducted any interviews in my home school district. In the fall of 1974 seven women were newly appointed to administrative positions in that school district and I interviewed all of them, asking if they would be interested in meeting as a continuing group to discuss their common concerns. Six were interested and we planned monthly luncheon meetings at my home. Many of the women met for the first time at the first luncheon meeting; we did not begin as a closely knit group of friends or professional colleagues. The meetings have been very successful although the original task focus of

the meetings has given way to a more informal and relaxed sharing of concerns. The importance of this group was best summed up by one woman:

> I had decided I could live isolated out there all by myself. And I could. And I did. But it's so much more pleasant to be able to share and these meetings give me enough strength and ammunition to continue when I think I can't do it any more.

Are Women Administrators Exceptional Women?

One question I continued to ask myself about the women administrators I interviewed is: Are these women exceptional? Do they have different backgrounds, a different psychological makeup, a different life style or motive for success than other women? The women I talked with had not been brought up under unique circumstances, they had not aspired to become administrators very early in their lives, and they had not necessarily achieved great academic success at the university. In general, nothing I learned about these women pointed to an earlier prediction that they would become administrators in a field dominated by men. Yet, they clearly are exceptional, by virtue of holding administrative positions.

One question I asked male and female administrators was, "Do you think a woman must be smarter, more competent and more able to be given an administrative job in comparison with a man?" The overwhelming response to this question was "yes" by both men and women. One woman said:

> Of course women are smarter and more competent. We'll have full equality in this field when we have as many mediocre women as we have mediocre men.

The women who are administrators have definitely gone through a selective process; they probably represent the "cream of the crop." One woman said:

> If they screen men as well as they screen women, education would be better off. I know only two women principals and they are outstanding; the others are not so outstanding.

The women I interviewed had a clear expectation of the difficulties they faced in their jobs as women, and they had a realistic assessment of their strengths and weaknesses as administrators. Psychologically, they were "well put together." I pointed out that several of these women had faced divorce or been widowed, most of them had been actively encouraged to take their position, and most of them reported to be in the "right place at the right time." Perhaps they are exceptional individuals as well as exceptional women. One can conclude that more women, such as those I have discussed, placed in administrative positions in our schools could only have favorable consequences for the education of our children.

Yet, I am not a sexist. I do not believe that women--by virtue of their being women--can bring about changes so needed in our field. I do advocate, however, that competent and skillful women are excluded from a field that woefully needs their competence, skill and expertize. In this chapter I have tried to show how women do it to themselves; how they collude to maintain their inferior status in the profession. There are other circumstances, however, which conspire to prevent women from entering or advancing in school administration. Those circumstances are created by men.

Chapter Five

WHY AREN'T THERE MORE WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATION?

MEN ARE THE REASON

Men always have held positions of control in our public schools. Even when women have held management positions, they have typically not been in authority either to give directives or to hire or fire subordinates. Men manage the schools and men are the gatekeepers to admit those who will hold management positions in schools. Men as gatekeepers to the profession--consciously and unconsciously, formally and informally--encourage males and discourage females from becoming administrators. Clearly, the control of our schools is structurally differentiated by sex.

Harriet Holter has conducted one of the most comprehensive studies to date on the function and processes of sex differentiation in western societies. In her work, Sex Roles and Social Structure, she described the societal conditions under which sex differentiation takes its most extreme form, and two of those conditions are especially appropriate to the study of school management. She describes the two conditions in these ways:

> A high degree of sex role differentiation is likely to be associated with a marked difference in the capacities of men and women, or with a belief in such differences. Conversely,

> a low degree of sex differentiation, or a belief in the similarity of men's and women's capacities (author's emphasis) (p. 24).

and

> The more differentiated the roles of men and women in a society or a group, the larger is the difference in power and prestige accorded the two genders. Such gender stratification contributes to the maintenance of the differentiation, but also contains counterforces that may weaken the system of differentiation (p. 42).

In the previous chapter I tried to demonstrate how women believe themselves to possess inferior competencies in relation to the role requirements of administrative jobs and how they often collude to maintain their low power status by deferring to males. Some women are, of course, also working as "counterforces" to attempt to weaken the sex differentiation of school management. In this chapter I will focus on men and the integral part they play in maintaining the structural sex differentiation in school management. First, I shall describe the men in education. Second, I shall describe men's beliefs about women and some explanations as to why many men hold beliefs that women possess inferior competencies in relation to school administration. Finally, I shall describe how men maintain and perpetuate the differentiation of administrative jobs on the basis of sex.

The Men in Educational Administration

Males, of course, are not exempt from the socialization into the appropriate societal sex role behaviors. Whereas girls by the age of ten aspire to be mothers and housewives as well as nurses and elementary school teachers, boys aspire to be architects, astronauts, truck drivers

and superintendents. Boys typically define their future identity by an occupational position. Boys' aspirations toward these occupational positions do not necessarily exclude the status positions of husband and father, but boys already know that in our society a man's identity is established primarily through an occupational position.

There is, in fact, some research indicating the sex role norms for males are stronger than they are for girls. Boys receive harsher sanctions for behaving in the less valued "feminine" ways than girls receive for behaving like a boy. Since masculine behaviors are more highly valued in our society, it is more acceptable for a girl to be a "tomboy" than it is for a boy to be a "sissy." The story of the travails of young William who wants a doll poignantly demonstrates the sex role restrictions upon the young male child. Yet, even in this delightful compilation of children's stories, songs and poems in Free to Be You and Me directly confronting sex-role stereotypes, William receives his doll only after he has sufficiently demonstrated his masculine abilities in sports. What would happen to poor William if he couldn't demonstrate his athletic skill?

The socialization of males and females occurs within many settings; it occurs within the family, it occurs through the visible adult role models, and it occurs through adult models in textbooks and other media which clearly delineate man's and woman's place in society. As girls learn the appropriate behavioral correlates of being female, boys learn the behaviors expected of a man. And these restrictions continue in the adult years. Warren Farrel in The Liberated Male argues that while

women have been depicted in our society as sex objects, men are depicted as success objects. Men are expected to become professionally successful and to provide economically for themselves and their families. There are unflattering and negative names for a man who lets a woman support him; yet it is acceptable for a wife to expect her husband to provide for her.

Socialization into the adult sex roles also involves skill training. For instance, the incidental skills learned through playing team sports such as basketball, baseball or football enable individuals to learn behaviors required for leadership such as cooperation, initiative and goal setting. Participation in these sports is almost exclusively a male domain. Boys have opportunities to learn these skills; the girls cheer them on.

Virtually all males in our society are exposed to these socialization influences. Yet what of the males who enter the profession of education? What do we know about them? We know that women public school administrators typically come from professional families in urban settings. Women socialized into professional life have found education one of the few professions open to them. And we know that men in school administration do not come from professional backgrounds. For men, education has been a route for professional upward mobility. Carlson's study of school superintendents depicts the male superintendent as a first-born child from a large protestant small-town family in the lower or lower middle income bracket. Men often have chosen education as a second best choice; for some reason they were unable to pursue their

first choice profession. For men education has been a route for upward mobility; for women education has been an acceptable profession (Carlson, 1972).

Whereas the turning point for women's domination as school teachers occurred in the aftermath of the Civil War, men's re-entrance to the field came in the aftermath of World War II and the provisions afforded by the GI Bill. Many men who otherwise would have been deprived of professional training went to universities and entered colleges of education. As more and more men have entered the profession, the stigma of the "feminized" field of education has gradually begun to shift--especially on the elementary school level. One male principal said:

> It's more acceptable for a man to go into education. They now can make more salary and there is a professionalism about the field. Men in schools--especially in the elementary schools--just don't bathe in lavendar water any more.

Yet even with the increasing trend toward a sexual balance in the field, men in education still face a unique situation shared by virtually no other profession, they must cope in a predominantly female world. The evidence of increasing numbers of men in the profession and decreasing numbers of women in leadership positions in the profession is one indication that men have successfully learned how to cope with the feminized world. Not only have men assumed greater dominance in school management, their increasing representation in the field is correlated with the increasing prestige of the profession; higher pay, increased benefits and higher social status mark significant changes. One woman said:

> Yet, we have to give men their quarter. It was when men finally came into education--after World War II--that they

were militant enough to get pay raises and make it a respectable profession.

Holter argues that as a field becomes increasingly lucrative and prestigious, more men enter the field and more women leave the field, thus stratification of power increases between the sexes. In education, the influx of men into the profession and the increased benefits of the field have also resulted in a greater power differential between the sexes. Furthermore, as these changes have occurred, many men believe this is the way it ought to be. Women are seen by many male administrators as possessing inferior capabilities for performing administrative functions.

Men's Beliefs about Women's Capabilities

Many men I interviewed in urban, suburban and rural districts in Oregon voiced negative attitudes and beliefs about women's abilities to perform an administrative job. Among the questions I asked the people I interviewed was whether they had noticed differences in the performance of males and females in management positions. Some differences were consistently noted by men; women were characterized as better detail persons, as more democratic in decision making, as more dedicated, as more child centered, as taking more initiative in innovations and being more concerned about the curriculum than their male counterparts who worried more about finances and the physical plant. Yet many of the men who responded with these exemplary female characteristics presented these characteristics as double-binds and in some cases pejoratives. Whereas women were seen as good detail people, they couldn't see the "larger

picture." Women were more democratic, but they were too indecisive. Women were more dedicated, but obsessively so. Women were creative, but also overly aggressive. And while the women were seen as child centered and curriculum oriented, they were also viewed as being unrealistic and financially irresponsible.

While to a man the urban, suburban and rural interviewees all voiced some reservations about women's competence for administrative role-taking in schools, it was the men in rural districts--where there were no women whatsoever in management positions--who saw the possible addition of women to their currently all-male management teams as creating additional problems for effectively implementing their administrative tasks. By way of explanation, I should point out that administrators in small school districts in Oregon have many informal contacts, they are highly interdependent and often resemble a closely knit friendship group. They share similar burdens and jointly work to solve many of their district's problems. In fact, these administrators who work in small school districts often view their own job survival as being contingent on how well their fellow administrators are performing. One male high school principal said, for instance:

> It's easier to work without women. Principals and superintendents are a management team. It fosters interdependence and mutual support. We need each other for survival. It's no evil liaison--it's just pure politics. I wonder if we could hang together so well if some of us were women. Could she protect my job as well as her own? I don't have that concern with a guy, he talks the same language, he's good with PR, he's a good disciplinarian. I can count on him. I don't have to take a risk.

Since the administrators of a small district work as an interdependent team, they naturally take on the system attributes of all closely knit work groups and thus alternate between working on a task, on the one hand, and providing opportunities for release and emotional support for their members, on the other. One superintendent expressed his fears that adding a woman to his work group would hamper those situations of masculine emotional release, consequently reducing the task effectiveness of the management team. He commented:

> When things get tough and up tight and we don't seem to be making any headway we lapse into other areas of common interest--football, basketball and the like. A woman would stop that very important process from occurring because apart from the job we wouldn't have any common areas of interest. I couldn't relax if a woman were an integral part of the management team.

This superintendent was interested in fruit production, and my family is involved in a small-scale production of apples. After my interview was completed we spent another forty-five minutes discussing our common interests in fruit production and harvesting. I did not, however, point out the apparent contradiction to his statement that he would have no common areas of interest with a woman. But, of course, I was only a woman interviewer; I was not part of his management team.

Another superintendent viewed the emotional instability of the "feminine mind" as a major problem in taking on a job that demanded an "even keel."

> If a woman goes into administration she must understand the workings of a man's mind so that when things are said they are not taken from a woman's angle because they are said from a man's angle. I would hate like hell to have a woman act out toward men as some women do. They are moody. Some

> days they are happy and the next day they're bitching. An even keel is needed in this job.

Urban-Rural Differences

In the interviews I deliberately avoided leading questions which might have resulted in these kinds of answers. I knew that I had biases of my own that could distort and color the answers I received so I took considerable caution in using an objective interviewing style. In fact, upon hearing the first few open and frank statements about women's debilitating and hindering effects on a school system I was frankly surprised that such statements would be made to me as a woman in educational administration studying women. There were other men who did not display such reluctance to women in administration, and I asked them about the importance of the "locker room theory" of school management. All the men I queried about this phenomenon agreed that many of their colleagues demonstrated a locker room mentality. One man said:

> There is truth in that. I just have confidence in human beings that it would change. It's a matter of proving her skills and I think she would finally be accepted.

Another man said:

> I've seen it. I've heard it. Yet I feel sorry for districts where administrators must operate on such levels of emotional catharsis.

I should point out that although the most demonstrative negative reaction to women in school administration was manifested by men in small rural districts, it was also the case that some other men from small rural districts did not hold such negative views about women's place in school management. Indeed, some men from rural communities believed

their meetings suffered because of an absence of women. They made statements such as "Men and women on a team create a healthy balance," or "It's the obligation of the school district to provide adult models for the male and female children we serve," or "It's just been my experience that women are damn good administrators." Many of these small town administrators, in fact, seemed more ready to accept female administrators than some of the more polished urban and suburban male administrators I interviewed.

The obvious discrepancy between those rural administrators who were in stark opposition to women in school management and those who spoke as advocates of women entering school management continued to confuse me. I did not have the impression that most men in urban areas voiced such strong opposition--or advocacy either. Because of the discrepancies in attitude I found from talking to men in rural areas, I could not attribute the strong sex-role norms of small traditional communities as a variable distinguishing the advocates from the resisters. I reread my extensive interview notes to seek an explanation behind some men's active resistance and other men's acceptance of women in school management. Only upon rereading my interviews did I become convinced that urban-rural differences made no difference in men's convictions about women's competencies in school management.

In fact, I discovered at least as much active resistance from some men in urban areas who worked with women in administrative positions as I had most clearly heard from men in rural areas. Yet the men in urban areas communicated their opposition in a much more subtle and

sophisticated manner. Consider this following statement of an administrator in a large urban school district.

> I believe any institution has characteristics that are required of the leaders which are compatible with the institution. For instance in the elementary schools principals must deal with children--the emotional environment is very important. Women are better able to be leaders in the elementary school because the affective behaviors of men and women are different, which is culturally determined. Women are closer to children in their daily lives and women learn more first hand, about children, their relationship is closer to children.

This quote was presented by a man who has contact with women in administrative positions although there are no women comparable to him in rank. My liberal paraphrase of his statement goes like this: Schools are functionally arranged the way they are. Women are culturally trained to work at the affective levels with young children and women should stay at this affective level of relating to students because women are "better at it" than men. He excludes women from major leadership positions on the basis of sex role conditioning in our society and furthermore supports it because it is organizationally functional. He excludes men from affective relations with students because men have not been culturally conditioned to resonate to the feelings of youngsters and so must focus their strength, stability and rationality on the management functions of secondary schools and the school district.

In contrast to this carefully veiled rhetoric supporting the differentiation of management jobs on the criteria of sex, consider the following blunt statement of a male superintendent in a small rural district.

> I work very closely with the principals. We work long hours and sometimes very late. Frankly, I would be reluctant to hire a woman principal--especially if she were attractive--I might have some hell to pay at home.

The first quote was from a man in an influential and important position in one of the largest school districts in the state. He has had a long career in education and has followed a typical career path of an upwardly mobile male administrator. By virtue of his public position it is fair to assume he has learned how to be interpersonally adept and has learned to temper his tongue. I do not believe he would make such an unpopular statement as the above to a woman studying women in school administration in 1974. He has more aplomb than that!

Outright Discrimination

Some men who have a belief in the inferior capabilities of women demonstrate their convictions by direct action. One woman reported a clear case of discrimination on the basis of sex.

> Then the director left and I was interested in his position, I was told by the superintendent that I would not be considered. The reason given was that I was doing such a good job where I was. In fact, I had two jobs. The man was given two job titles but he couldn't do all the work so I had one title and two jobs. He had the title and I had the responsibility. Anyway, I decided I wanted the director's job . . . I guess I was discriminated against. I think because I fought him (the superintendent) openly on issues and not behind the scenes. But I never fought about issues like his ruling that women couldn't wear pants suits. He had directors who didn't fight with him. I did. Friends ask me why I didn't press the issue and sue. I figured I'd be a loser each way. If I lost the case I would be out of a job and if I did win I would be considered a troublemaker and my work would be hindered. I'd just lose on all counts.

This woman wrote a detailed report describing the qualifications for the job and how she met the qualifications. She compared herself in the

report with the man who received the job. There is little doubt that this particular job assignment was denied on the basis of her being of the wrong sex.

Another case of clear discrimination was reported to me in 1975 by a woman in Oregon who was finishing her Ph.D. in Educational Administration. She called a school district to receive an application for a superintendency and was told that it would be a waste of time for her to even fill out the application because the school board would not consider a woman for the job. I called the school district and questioned this policy and was told:

> This isn't a case of discrimination. It's just that we have some real discipline problems in our district and a woman could not handle them.

Both of these instances occurred in rural areas; it is my conviction that such examples of direct and blatant discrimination would not occur in an urban school district. That is not to say urban areas do not have any instances of sex discrimination. It is to say, however, that it is usually more subtle.

Subtle Discrimination

Most men and women believed that outright, formal discrimination in the final selection process happens only infrequently in Oregon. Most women, however, had received messages from their male colleagues of their beliefs about the different capabilities and competencies of women and men in administration. For some women the differential treatment took the form of overprotection by their male colleagues. Two women from large school districts reported:

> Discrimination has been subtle. I'm not sure it's been deliberate. I'm a product, like everyone else, of my environment and I'm trapped in those expectations the same as men are. Many kindnesses are extended to me in my job. I think it's because I'm a woman. I am often protected. Even my next assignment is a protection. It's not a tough job.
>
> * * *
>
> I had to prepare a report for the school board meeting and a man presented the report. I told him that I would do it because we all knew a lot of flack would come out of it. But he did it and got all the flack we knew would come. Protection is nice but on the other hand. . . .

Other women from urban centers reported differential treatment of a more negative kind:

> When you are the only woman on a committee and you do not tend to think as the others, they just turn me off and turn to each other. I just don't get heard.
>
> * * *
>
> I wouldn't have had to take some of the guff I've had to take if I wore long pants. And one incident has happened recently I'm absolutely sure I would have been treated differently if I were a male. More care would have been given to me if I were a male.

Women's impressions of subtle discrimination were acknowledged by most of the men I interviewed who believed they did, or they would, treat a female colleague differently than a male colleague. One man said:

> We have an adequate supply of women working for us, maybe it's plain old male chauvinism but I would be reluctant to be as demanding of a woman principal as I would be of a man. I have a feeling that women have to be treated more delicately.

A Change in Attitude?

Women have held administrative positions in school districts. Although they have always been a minority, women have been principals, superintendents and one woman in Oregon recalled that her grandmother was a high school football coach! Yet today women are viewed as no longer capable of performing functions they have performed in the past. For

instance, one woman who had worked in a particular school district for many years with administrative duties and who had developed a favorable reputation in the community applied for an elementary school principalship and was denied that position. She believes it was because she is a woman. She said:

> What is amazing to me is that when I came to this district there were several women in administrative positions. Then years later, when I applied the screening committee asked me questions like, "What will you do when the lights go out?" and "How will you handle the custodians?" It's amazing to me that women did occupy those positions and now women are seen as not capable of doing things they have always done.

Why Are Men Resistant to Women as Administrators?

Two psychological theories seem appropriate in helping to explain male educators' present resistance to women in school management. Balance theory (Zajonc, 1960) stresses an individual's needs to resolve discrepant attitudes. Individuals strive for consistency in their thoughts, beliefs and attitudes; striving for consistency often veils irrationality and even autism. Consider the following quote from Allport as one prime example in his studies of prejudice for the need for consistency (1954):

> Mister X: The trouble with Jews is that they only take care of their own group.
> Mister Y: But the record of the Community Chest shows that they give more generously than non-Jews.
> Mister X: That shows that they are always trying to buy favor and intrude in Christian affairs. They think of nothing but money; that is why there are so many Jewish bankers.
> Mister Y: But a recent study shows that the percent of Jews in banking is proportionally much smaller than the percent of non-Jews.
> Mister X: That's just it. They don't go in for respectable business. They would rather run night clubs.

Consider the similarities in logic with this fictional discussion about females in school administration:

Male: There aren't any females in school administration because women don't apply for administrative jobs. Women don't want to be administrators.
Female: But some women do apply and they have been discriminated against on the basis of their sex.
Male: That's just it. Those females who apply for administration complain about discrimination; they are so aggressive that no school board in their right mind would pick such a person. She would alienate half the town.
Female: Yet the women who are administrators are more democratic in their decision making and typically involve staff and parents more than male administrators.
Male: Of course. Women are so indecisive. They have to look to everyone else to tell them what to do.
Female: But women do take initiative and make decisions on their own. Many educational innovations in the field have been spearheaded by women in the field.
Male: And look what those innovations have caused. Everyone agrees that our schools are in a mess.
Female: But women have not been responsible for how our schools are managed. Men have run the schools for years.
Male: That's true. Women don't have to take responsibility. They can live off their husbands. Men have to be administrators to earn support for their family.
Female: But many women in education are their own sole support.
Male: Yes. And they take jobs away from men who need it to support more than just themselves.

Cognitive validation theory (Pepitone, 1964) stresses the needs of individuals for seeing reality like it really is. One needs to correctly map the outside reality; furthermore, this theory is important for individuals' assessing their own worth. Pepitone states:

> The validation motive is the need for an individual to maintain a cognitive structure which correctly maps physical and social reality concerning the value of himself and others along some dimension. Generally implied by this formulation is that whenever an estimate of his own worth deviates from estimates of objective valuation in a given respect, the individual will tend to change his cognitive structure so that such valuations are more in line with reality (p. 50).

In analyzing men in education these two theories help explain men's motives to believe in women's inferior competencies: 1) Women are devalued in the society and educators by and large accept the general social order. 2) Men's valuation of self is lower in public school education, a predominantly female field, than in other professions. 3) The personal life of administrators supports the beliefs about women's inferior and inadequate administrative skills.

Educators Acceptance of the Social Order

Educators are by and large not a radical lot; they are imbued with the purpose of socializing young people into the adult society. In most introductory textbooks in educational foundations, the public schools are presented as a "mirror" of the social order. And in many other books public education has been criticized for not paving the way or leading social movements. Men and women in education typically accept the social order and accept the sex role norms governing the appropriateness of male and female. In fact, several women active in sex role issues in schools often complain that older female teachers are their most ardent opposition. While the women in administrative positions I interviewed were not opposed to my study, they clarified their views with the qualifier, "I am not a 'militant,' or a 'libber' or a 'feminist.'" Men and women in public schools do not flagrantly flaunt opposition to most social norms and rules--even if they hold such opposition. Those who hold unpopular views often have had a tough row to hoe as educators as well as private citizens. By and large few of our radical spokesmen have arisen from the ranks of public school teachers or administrators.

Women who are in leadership positions in the schools belie the acceptable sex role norms for women. They create cognitive dissonance for men--and for other women--in the field. Individuals who see a woman occupying a "man's position" must actively work to restore consistency and balance to their psychological system. Therefore such women are viewed as "exceptional." Men, or women, do not see any discrepancy between their psychological predisposition that administration is a "man's job" when they can dismiss those few women who do occupy such positions as exceptions to the rule. The major work to be done is to view administrative roles without the criterion of sex; this is the major obstacle confronting the years-old implicit policy of selecting school administrators from the male population unless there was one exceptional female who stood head and shoulders above her male counterparts.

Men's Self-esteem

Women betray their negative self-esteem and acceptance of their second class status in education by not applying for administrative jobs or by answering, "Who, me?" to a request to take on a job with increasing power and responsibility. Men in education, on the other hand, must strive to validate their own self-worth and fulfill their role of "success objects" by becoming managers in a feminized field. Many people I interviewed alluded to or directly voiced the opinion that women administrators posed a "threat" to men in the profession. Several women, for instance, in giving advice to aspiring female administrators cautioned, "Don't show your competence too much--don't be too threatening to the male ego." One woman recounted her experiences:

> When women get in administrative jobs they have to be much better than a man because they have to prove themselves. But then they become threatening. The director told me straight out, "You threaten me, it's very uncomfortable for me." Women are not put into jobs because they threaten those persons with whom they have to interact in the upper echelons.

A man said:

> Nowadays every district seems to want their token woman. Then when that token woman does a good job she's a threat to other men. She moves on and they just don't bother to replace her and say, "We can't find a woman."

Public school education has not been generally viewed as a "high prestige" profession compared with law, medicine or industry. Men who have entered have traditionally come from nonprofessional families, although it is becoming a more acceptable field with increasing monetary incentives as well as with the increasing number of men being recruited. Yet, men in education--like no other profession--must make their way and establish their status in a "feminized" field. The giving way to women in administrative positions may have the consequence of lowering the prestige of the field men have built up by their very presence.

One man described the advantage men have over women in preserving the final bastion of male superiority--the locker room.

> I have found the gals in administration to be somewhat defensive and I understand why. For two reasons. 1) When you work with them they become cowed too easily and they feel their arguments have no validity. Second, they often simply do not subscribe to logic. They reduce it to a discriminatory issue--you won't listen to me. Guys, however, have a third alternative. They have absurd relationships. Things get tough and the dialogue turns to coaching. Chief administrators are all ex jocks and they have that to fall back on. If a gal doesn't get cowed and keeps on being logical, however, and a task oriented gal keeps pushing for a resolution, the chief administrator can't take that.

He can't take that so he lapses into the locker room which she can't share.

Thus in the pecking order of job structuring men have assumed the burdens and responsibilities as well as the prestige, influence and power of administration. To share responsibility with women will be to share prestige with women. In our society, women as second class citizens detract--rather than add--to the prestige of the occupational position. Men in education cannot validate their self-worth when women share the responsibilities and prestige of their occupational position.

Administrators' Personal Lives

Male school administrators almost always have wives and family. And from the texts written for school superintendents, one can safely assume that their family's life is not contrary to the expectations for the American mainstream middle class family. Wives are expected and encouraged to further the careers of their upwardly mobile husbands. When men administrators are confronted with a female in a similar occupational position to themselves they must not only find some congruent balance between their expectations that administration is a man's job, they must also find some congruence between this woman who is in contrast to the woman they live with. If the woman is unmarried, this presents few dissonance problems; she is "married" to her job and can devote the time and energy to it because she has no family demands. Yet increasingly, women in education are pursuing a career as well as having a husband and children. One man achieved his psychological balance in the following way:

> I knew a gal in grad school who was very intelligent. It seems to me that most women who go into a doctoral program started with a husband and ended up with none. Any person in administration spends a lot of time and becomes very self-sufficient. Husbands get taken off their pedestal. If a woman administrator were married, the husband might have some problems.

And sometimes the wives of school administrators who have fulfilled the societal expectations of a "woman's role in helping her husband" aid and embellish the stereotypes about women who pursue a career in school administration. As indicated by one superintendent who acknowledged the hiring of an attractive female principal might result in some "hell to pay at home," there may be a sexual competition between wives and their husbands' professional female colleagues. Not only does the male find himself in direct job competition with a female, he often feels the pressures of his wife who is in sexual competition with his female colleague. I asked some women I interviewed whether they had noted this problem or not. The reactions were mixed. One woman surprised at my question said:

> This is a small town. There are three of us who work very closely together. Two men and me. I never have any problems. If that's the only way a man can release tension I think that's poor. I can be myself and we are all very close. We often see each other as couples. I see the two men I work with more than their wives see them. If someone wanted to take advantage of the situation I suppose they could.

Several other women did not see it as a major problem but pointed out that they had considered such an issue; they had resolved it by maintaining a strictly professional relationship with the men they worked with.

In addition, the husbands of females who are administrators are viewed with some suspicion; what kind of man would "allow his wife" to pursue such a masculine role? In fact, those married women in

administrative positions almost always pointed out the unique characteristics of their husbands who had little difficulty with their occupational pursuits. In fact, many of the women had husbands who were teachers--generally thought to be a lower prestige position than they held.

One woman said:

> In my life the school is my center. My husband teaches the upper grades and he has no administrative aspirations. He says what I do is my decision. Others sometimes kid him about me being such a career woman but that doesn't seem to bother him.

Other women, however, indicated that their husbands held prestigious jobs in other professions; they were not in the same field so there was not direct competitive parallels. These women indicated that there might be problems of their husbands, too, were not seen as occupationally successful.

Educators who meet men and women who are contrary to the appropriate sex role stereotypes are directly confronted with their own personal lives and choices. A career woman with a husband and family is often a disturbing influence upon a woman who has dedicated her life to being a "good wife and mother." Similarly, a man who has a wife with career aspirations may be a disturbing influence on a man whose status and success are often enhanced by his own wife's lower occupational status.

Sociological and Economic Theories

Psychological beliefs and attitudes are most often functionally adaptive. While we often distort and misperceive reality to conform to our thinking about the way things "ought to be," as rational human beings with drives for veridicality, we cannot distort the reality too

far. Men's beliefs in women's inferior capacities to perform administrative positions are functionally adaptive in a field with increasing job competition and a stabilizing job market. Such competition has increased the pressures upon men to be concerned about their own status positions in the field. And the structural differentiation by sex is functional in excluding a major portion of the potential competition in the job market.

About the labor force, Oppenheimer has presented clear evidence that occupational positions are becoming more and more differentiated by sex; In Broverman's et al. study of sex role norms serious doubts have been raised about the movement toward a "unisex" society. As men increasingly enter a stabilized field, it is functional to believe that a woman cannot perform a similar job.

The job itself has changed; principals once presided over strawberry socials, now they sit at the bargaining table. Principals used to make "house calls," now the "house calls" are often made by the police. Tighter fiscal policies, the lack of respect for "authority" in the schools, stacks of papers to fill out for accountability procedures, parent demands for parity, formal procedures for teacher evaluation mark real and significant changes in the profession of school administration. These reasons provide the back-drop for many individuals, men and women alike, to say that administration is no longer a "proper" role for a woman. It is a <u>functional</u> belief in a field where men are increasing and the job market is decreasing. One male superintendent summarized this functional belief well:

> We have a lot of myths about women, they are flighty, there is one time a month they can't be depended upon to make rational decisions, they cannot be detached, and are too emotional. Typical minority prejudices. The people in power tend to hold such myths about the minority and then work to increase the myths. We've done a brilliant job of that in our predominantly male organization.

Perpetuation of a Male Dominated System

In the past there were too few male teachers to choose from for administrative positions and women were encouraged to become administrators. Today women are encouraged much less. Women are not any more reluctant to become administrators than they ever have been; women presently are not recruited as actively as they were in the past. Men, as the gatekeepers to the profession, recruit other men and justify such behaviors out of the belief that a woman will be an inferior administrator compared to a man.

Differential Recruitment

Recruitment for an administrative job occurs in the schools. Most people who enter the University of Oregon's Department of Educational Administration already hold administrative positions in a school district and will return to that school district after they earn their credential or their degree. It is in the schools that administrators are spawned. One male superintendent told how he finds his "recruits":

> We don't really groom people; they have to show themselves as capable. I took a course in group dynamics that really made sense to me. The leader is the one who emerges out of the group. He doesn't necessarily talk the most, but he makes sense and he quietly persuades others. And they follow him. If that persistently happens he demands respect and he gets my eye.

The informal training grounds for administration happen over the cold beer after a grueling meeting, during the coffee break during the day, on the golf course, in the swimming pool, or in the evening relaxing with people who share common problems and similar interests. Advice from an "old hand" is one of the most important means of socialization in any profession; it is here that the aspirants learn the common language and learn the off-the-cuff solutions to problems. Women are intentionally or unintentionally excluded from this informal socialization process; it is primarily the males who are the school administrators and the informal associations tend to be with other males. Two women aspiring to higher levels in their school district pointed out the obstacles they faced:

> I made it here okay but upward mobility from here on up I am worried about. I just don't have the informal associations with men in power.
>
> * * *
>
> I am upwardly mobile but here come the roadblocks. Men naturally flock together. They golf together and swim together so they get to know one another. Men who are in low positions striving upward golf and swim with the guys in power to decide. Those avenues are closed to me. These are the way roles get filled. Even before they are advertised, someone suggests a bright young man. I won't be known in the district. No one will communicate to others that I am interested in a position and by the time announcements are made it's already too late.

Role Models are Men

As women are no longer being actively recruited by male administrators and more men are taking administrative positions, there are not many women who can stand out and thereby graphically refute the mythology about "feminine mind." One woman said:

> I need a role model to aspire to. Men also need to see women who operate well in administration. It will be doubly difficult if there are no women who can demonstrate that they are doing a good job.

Men do not consciously think about suggesting a woman for a position because there are so many male role models, and women teachers do not entertain the idea of becoming an administrator because they do not see any females operating on administrative levels. An important aspect of occupational socialization is the availability of role models--those "ego-ideals" who provide an example of who to be like and what to strive for. In school administration most of the role models are men. One woman who had been encouraged to become a principal of an elementary school reported:

> I had earned my credentials when I went back to school but I never thought about being a principal. Mostly because all the principals were men.

Another woman who aspired to move toward a higher administrative position pointed to another woman in a top administrative position and reported:

> If it weren't for her, I wouldn't be where I am. And if it weren't for her, I wouldn't ever think of going higher.

Women and men are influenced by the prevalent male role models in the profession.

The Selection of School Administrators

In most school districts in the United States the hiring and firing of administrators is the formal obligation of the school board upon recommendation of the superintendent. In Oregon in 1973-1974 there were two women superintendents out of 202, and 17 percent of positions on Oregon school boards are filled by women. While the final decision is up

to the school board after the superintendent makes a recommendation, most districts form screening committees to interview, prioritize and recommend administrative candidates. Such committees typically are made up of men.

In reviewing the sex composition of screening committees in a large urban school district for the last four years I found the committees were typically constituted of 6-8 members; about half the time the screening committees were all men, in the remaining cases there were one or two women on the committee. Male domination of screening committees is still another factor that reduces the chances of a woman to receive an administrative job.

The procedures of application, interview, screening and final selection have been formally established to provide an equitable chance for all administrative candidates. Yet even these formal filtering procedures often have the deck stacked against women. In a small community a male high school principal reflected on these procedures:

> Screening committees are terrible. For one thing they are all men. The superintendent appoints one or two principals and faculty representatives and they are the committee. Nobody talks about how the committee got selected in the first place. Then the committee wants to decide who is the best person for the job. But they don't really know what the job is so decisions are based on extraneous functions. They want demonstrated competence and they measure it by the winning football team. They want somebody who can work with the public and who the public knows and so again it's the winning football coach. Everybody ignores the long lists of criteria and chooses on the basis of winning football teams. The deck is stacked against women.

Even in these formal procedures, the prior informal processes often have direct impact on the final selection process. Some jobs are designed to

fit the qualifications of a particular person. One superintendent said:

> The criteria for selection are set by boards or administrators who want to maintain a certain status quo. A lot of administrative positions are pre-engineered for a specific person.

Screening committees may have a hidden agenda in favor of a specific person or they must use criteria such as winning football teams as a measure of demonstrated competence. But even if the deck is not stacked in such obvious ways, the men who compose the committee want to choose on the basis of the best candidate. In most cases committees genuinely wish to choose the best person for the job. Yet many of these men believe that a woman does not have the capabilities to perform administrative functions or that the addition of a woman will hinder the effectiveness of their management team. Understandably, a man with such convictions will not choose a woman unless she stands "head and shoulders" above her male counterparts.

In summary of Chapters IV and V, I have tried to show that men and women collude to maintain women's low status in the field of education. Women defer to men and derogate their own capabilities. Men raise their self-esteem in a highly feminized field and they create psychological balance by maintaining strict adherence to the appropriateness of sex typed occupational roles. Men as the gatekeepers to the profession of school management are doing an increasingly effective job of closing the doors to the sacrosanct chambers of management. The doors will be opened only through the successful efforts of those people who believe that the job of running our schools is too important a task to be delegated on the basis of sex.

Epilogue

Sex inequity in public school administration is, of course, only one example of the more pervasive question concerning the roles of men and women in our society today. Some of those questions have been answered by federal legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex concerning the educational opportunities for male and female children as well as employment for adults. And some states have made headway in introducing state legislation to support and affirm the spirit of the federal legislation. In Oregon, for instance, House Bill 2133 was specifically addressed to documenting the status of women in Oregon public schools and to provide a plan for providing employment opportunities for women. Unfortunately the bill died in committee.

The passage of the 1974 Women's Educational Equity Act by the United States Congress may serve as an important affirming spirit by providing an impetus for implementation plans and models for changing sex inequity.

There is little question that the current sex imbalance in educational administration offers only negative consequences to most educators, to educational institutions and to children. Sex equity in public school administration should occur

--for the sake of men and women educators. Women should have opportunities to share in the privileges of administrative positions and men

should have some help in their current lion's share of burdens and responsibilities.

--for the sake of our schools; the potential resources of our schools are not being fully used when sex, rather than competence, determines who will run our schools.

--for the sake of educational policy-making; one of the apparent concerns of the 1960s and 1970s is to provide intelligent, rational and explicit policies for education. Yet the hiring of men and the exclusion of women remains an implicit policy in administrative selection.

--for the sake of our children. Our schools have an important responsibility in the education and socialization of our male and female children. Unless the current sex inequity changes, our children will face the same restricting sex role stereotypes that have encountered our generation.

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